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Albania: Greek President Pays Official Visit

AU2103213896 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Mar 96

[Report by Bujar Muharremi]

[FBIS Translated Text] Greek President Konstandinos Stefanopoulos arrived on an official and friendly visit to Albania today. At Rinas Airport, President Stefanopoulos was received with honors by President Sali Berisha.

Asked by the Albanian RTSh about this visit, which is the first [by a Greek president] in our country, both presidents declared:

[Begin Stefanopoulos recording, in Greek with passage-by-passage translation into Albanian] It is a message of friendship from Greece and the Greek people to Albania and the Albanian people.

[Correspondent Muharremi] Mr. President, (Odisea Elitis) was one of the most distinguished poets of Greece. Do you find in him messages to further continue and strengthen friendship between the Albanian and Greek peoples?

[Stefanopoulos] I believe that my visit will be an incentive to start a new period. This will depend on both countries, which have expressed a good predisposition and seriousness for their policy. I would be happy if my visit really constitutes the premise to start a new period. I would like to testify, with the same sincerity, to the expression of a friendly feeling by Greece and hope that Albania and the Albanian side will respond with the same feelings. [end recording]

[Muharremi] Mr. President, what do you expect from the visit of Mr. Stefanopoulos to our country?

[Begin Berisha recording] I greet the visit by President Stefanopoulos to Albania and express my conviction that this is a very important visit and a historic event in the friendship and the long cooperation that our two peoples and countries have established through centuries and millenia. This visit opens a new very important chapter with prospects in the relations between our two peoples and countries. Once again, I would like to express my pleasure over the visit of Greek President Stefanopoulos to Albania and I would like to assure my guest that this visit is an event very welcomed by Albanians, as it is by Greeks, I hope. [end recording]

Albania: Friendship, Cooperation Treaty Signed With Greece

NC2103211896 Athens ET-1 Television Network in Greek 1900 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] A treaty of friendship and cooperation between Greece and Albania was signed today by the two foreign ministers. Before that, Greek President Konstandinos Stefanopoulos met with his Albanian counterpart, Sali Berisha. Stefanopoulos, who is on a two-day official visit in Albania, talked about a new chapter in the two countries' relations. Our correspondents Nikolaos Meletis and Anneta Kavadhia have the following report:

[Begin recording] [Meletis] It is expected that the treaty of friendship signed today by Greek Foreign Minister Theodhoros Pangalos and his Albanian counterpart Alfred Serreqi in the presence of Greek President Stefanopoulos and his Albanian counterpart Sali Berisha, as well as Stefanopoulos's visit to Tirana, will turn a new page and will create new prospects in Greek-Albanian relations.

[Stefanopoulos] Confirming with great pleasure our similarity of views, which President Berisha has already mentioned, I want to stress that I am certain that friendly bilateral relations will continue to develop and that this visit will open a new chapter in our bilateral relations.

[Berisha] I want to assure President Stefanopoulos that the Greek minority's freedoms and rights are guaranteed and that no limits will be imposed on these rights.

[Meletis] President Stefanopoulos, who is accompanied by a delegation of ministers comprised of Pangalos, Papadhopoulos, Beteniotis and Papandreou, described on the Albanian parliament's floor Greece's peace policy, which constitutes a guarantee for the regional security and stability. During his speech the president gave special emphasis to the Greek minority's rights, an issue that has long created problems in Greek-Albanian relations.

[Stefanopoulos] Greece considers the Greek minority as a bridge of friendship and cooperation between our two countries, as the strongest link in the long chain of things that unite us.

[Meletis] President Stefanopoulos made it clear that he himself considers respect for minority rights a key issue in Greek-Albanian relations. However, in order to clear up any misunderstandings, since the visit is taking place in the preelection period in Albania, President Stefanopoulos stressed that Greece cooperates with countries, not with parties; and regardless of the election results, he considers any bridge of friendship that is established to be stable.

Certain references by the Albanian parliament's president indicating some beliefs still prevalent in Albania caused a stir. When addressing President Stefanopoulos, the Albanian parliament president tactlessly spoke about Albanian, as he called them, heroes like Boumboulina,

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Markos Botsaris, and Tzavellas. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Albania: Berisha, Greek President Comment on Relations

AU2203112796 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Continuing his meetings today, President Berisha received the Greek delegation headed by President Stefanopoulos. For about 45 minutes Berisha and Stefanopoulos held a private talk about mutual problems and prospects for solving them.

The two presidents then held talks in the presence of the two delegations and correspondents. Berisha said that he considers the visit to be a remarkable event in the history of relations between our two countries and peoples. This friendship has been established on the basis of common feelings, and I believe that, on this occasion, I express the Albanian people's feelings of friendship for the Greek people, Berisha said.

Greek President Stefanopoulos stressed that there is no problem for which a solution cannot be found and that we should find new forms of bilateral cooperation.

Regarding Greek minority rights in Albania, the Greek president declared that Greece does not intend and does not want to use these rights against Albania.

After the talks, Foreign Ministers Alfred Serreqi and Theodore Pangalos signed a treaty of friendship, cooperation, good neighborliness, and security between the Republics of Albania and Greece.

After signing the treaty of friendship and cooperation, Presidents Berisha and Stefanopoulos told correspondents:

[Begin recording] [Berisha, in Albanian with passage-by-passage translation into Greek] After the talks with President Stefanopoulos and the government members, Foreign Minister Pangalos, Finance Minister Papadhopoulos, and Education Minister Papandreou, I have pleasure in confirming that both in the tete-a-tete talks with the president regarding the development of cooperation and friendship and the actualization of this cooperation in various fields of mutual interest, I expressed my deep gratitude to Greece, the Greek Government, and people for the noble assistance that they have rendered during this period to Albania in the political and economic fields and in other fields.

I mentioned to President Stefanopoulos all the misunderstandings and disagreements we have inherited and for which we have displayed the common will to resolve them and leave them behind us. This visit opens a new chapter in our relations.

I assured President Stefanopoulos that the Greek minority is guaranteed all the freedoms and rights pertaining to it and that it does not and will not suffer any kind of limitation in these rights regarding education, private and public schools, and religious rights and freedoms. The Greek minority is a minority that makes a valuable contribution to good understanding and cooperation between our two peoples, as well as to Albania's development.

We extensively discussed Albania's integration into Europe. We discussed the problem of Albanian emigrants in Greece. I have pleasure in confirming that President Stefanopoulos and Minister Pangalos assured me that they will support, as they have already done, Albania's integration into Europe and will commit themselves to accepting seasonal workers and legalizing the Albanian emigrants with regular documents.

We also agreed to expand consular activity by considering the possibility of opening another consulate in Korce and other border crossing points. We also discussed other projects, the north-south corridor and cross-border programs. What we decided, which is the most important for us, is to actualize our discussions with concrete acts and actions.

[Stefanopoulos, in Greek with passage-by-passage translation into Albanian] After once again affirming with great pleasure my accordance with the ideas about which Mr. President Berisha spoke, I would like to stress that I am certain that the friendly relations between our two countries and states will continue to develop, because the two states wish to base their relations on the principles of international law, recognizing all human and minority rights, in good faith, and in the disposition they have to cooperate in peace for the sake of their own special interest, but also of peace in the Balkans. I am certain that the misunderstandings or even differences that have existed in the past can be easily overcome, if our relations operate on the basis of these principles and are based on mutual interest that is related to both countries.

I am certain that the agreement that was just signed will gain continuity by being testified from both sides, i.e. both sides should show a desire to be integrated in it and apply it in practice.

I would like to thank President Berisha and all the members of the Albanian Government for the hospitable and noble way they have received us, which I am convinced is an expression of Albania's desire. The desire of Greece to open a new chapter has also been

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affirmed, a new chapter in which disagreements and misunderstandings no longer exist, giving way to sincere cooperation that allows the development not only of economic cooperation, but also cultural cooperation, and above all and most importantly, will allow the two peoples' friendly feelings toward each other to strengthen. I am certain that my visit to Albania will be followed by other visits. We will find many ways to cooperate that have not even been discovered yet.

Hoping in this cooperation and in the removal of all the differences of whatever kind they might be, whether small or big, the Greek side will make every sincere and serious effort. Thank you once again, Mr. President.

[Berisha] Thank you. [end recording]

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Bulgaria: Zhelev, German President Discuss Kozloduy

AU2203115496 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 22 Mar 96 p 3

[Editorial: "We Will Not Close Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant Because of Bonn"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] If the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant is closed, we will become too dependent on the Russians, President Zhelev said to the German head of state Roman Herzog. Zhelev explained that Moscow is a basic supplier of energy sources to Bulgaria, and if Kozloduy is stopped, Sofia will become a hostage of the Russian interests in the Balkans.

The president's statement was a response to the demand to stop Kozloduy's obsolete reactors, which cannot be modernized. According to a source in the German delegation, Zhelev explained that we will live in darkness, because Kozloduy supplies 40 percent of our electric power.

Herzog repeated also in his talks with Prime Minister Videnov that Bonn is concerned over Kozloduy's nuclear safety. He promised that the West will continue to pay for the modernization of the reactors.

Seven opposition leaders, who had breakfast with Roman Herzog, have expressed concern with the processes in Russia.

"We said to the German president that we do not want Bulgaria to be a buffer zone between the East and the West," Anastasiya Mozer said. The concern has been expressed that Russia's admission to the Council of Europe is premature, and that it will aggravate NATO's expansion.

"Bulgaria must adopt the decision on NATO membership alone. We will not convince or force you," Herzog said.

Herzog appealed to the opposition parties to clear up their misunderstandings and rally on the eve of the presidential elections. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria: Cabinet Declaration on Duma Decision on USSR

AU2103181396 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The spokesman for the Council of Ministers has issued a declaration, which reads:

As is well known, the Government of the Republic of Bulgaria is conducting a policy aimed at consistently developing relations with the Russian Federation on an equal foundation in the political, economic, and other spheres of mutual interest.

The decision of the Russian State Duma adopted on 15 March 1996 is not legally binding, and it will not affect the Bulgarian Government's policy. Simultaneously, this decision prompted certain questions that affect international relations. Conditions have emerged for the appearance of ambiguities regarding many bilateral and multilateral treaties signed after 1991, and possible reflections in various areas, such as European security and the international legal entity of the new independent states.

Undoubtedly the tendencies toward integration and cooperation at the present stage are acquiring an ever-growing importance in Europe and the various regions. The mechanical transfer of past disputes to the present is not the proper road toward successfully implementing integration and cooperation.

On 25 March 1996 a high-ranking delegation of the Russian State Duma will visit Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Government views this visit as a new step in bilateral relations, in accordance with the asserted principles of mutual respect and constructive cooperation, the declaration of the Council of Ministers' spokesman reads.

Bulgaria: Government's Position on NATO Criticized

AU2203121596 Sofia PARI in Bulgarian 22 Mar 96 p 3

[Commentary by Monika Mileva: "President Again Conducts Agitation for NATO"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The decision of the Russian Duma on the restoration of the USSR is an unprecedented attempt at restoration and at turning back history, reads a statement by President Zhelev that was disseminated yesterday. He categorically denounces the decision and concludes that Bulgaria must finally submit its candidacy for regular NATO membership.

Meanwhile, the Radical Democratic Party [RDP] outside the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], issued a declaration in which it assesses highly the Prague meeting of 12 foreign ministers with U.S. Secretary of State Christopher. The contradictory and ambiguous foreign policy of the Bulgarian Socialist Party regarding NATO is depriving us of national security guarantees, removes us from united Europe, and returns us to the period of international isolation, the document reads. It also stresses the fact that only the Bulgarian foreign minister did not attend the meeting. Such a policy is completely unjustified, the RDP Executive Committee points out.

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Already on Wednesday [20 March] from rostrum of the National Assembly, Vasil Mikhaylov [SDS deputy], asked the prime minister to explain this fact as well as our behavior at a moment when the world and Europe are talking about expanding NATO and while the NATO general secretary is visiting Moscow.

In the meantime, it became known that the report on intensified dialogue with NATO, which was adopted by the Government Committee on European Integration, expresses our unwillingness to accept means of mass destruction and foreign troops on our territory. We support the idea of maintaining an equal distance from our neighbors and the strategic centers. This means that we must have an equal attitude toward both the transatlantic and transural dimensions of our security, governmental sources pointed out.

Bulgaria: Ministry Receives Skopje's Note on Human Rights

AU2203150796 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has received an official note from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. The note has been sent in response to an inquiry on our part in connection with ever more frequent cases of violating the rights of persons in Macedonia who openly declare their Bulgarian awareness or friendly attitude to Bulgaria.

The Macedonian Foreign Ministry explains that the individuals in question were taken in to the police for questioning about materials and objects related to a criminal act—the attempt on Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov's life.

The note does not point out whether any such materials were found. In addition, the note rejects the claim that they were detained for more than 24 hours, which is a violation of Article 12 of the Macedonian Constitution.

Announcing the receipt of the note, the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses its readiness to continue the constructive dialogue on the problems mentioned in the note. Simultaneously, the ministry points out that such cases in the future will continue to be followed with great attention by the Bulgarian side.

Bulgaria: BSP's Lukanov on 'Revived' Political Police

AU2103184196 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 14 Mar 96 p 6

[Interview with Andrey Lukanov, a member of the BSP Supreme Council and former prime minister, by Kameliya Stancheva; place and date not given: "Crime Structures Are Source of Threats Against Me"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Stancheva] Mr. Lukanov, at the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] plenum you said that the political police have been revived, but did not cite specific facts. You said that you would discuss this matter only with the state organs. Yesterday you were invited by the National Assembly Commission on National Security. Will you appear before the commission?

[Lukanov] I did not say anything about political police. I said that certain state employees are pushing the special services toward interference in the internal political life. This phenomenon should alarm every active democrat. I do not intend to collect any formal judicial evidence on this matter because this is impossible. However, I have every reason to warn my party and our society about this.

[Stancheva] In other words, you only have grounds, but no evidence.

[Lukanov] I do not have, and I assume that I will not have any evidence. However, I repeat: I have enough grounds, and this prompted my statement. As far as my participation in the work of the Commission on National Security is concerned, if I am invited, I will gladly go there. However, this does not mean that I will give any explanations or engage in any investigation.

[Stancheva] Perhaps you will share your "grounds" with the commission members....

[Lukanov] No. I think that what I said should be enough to prompt the concern of the competent organs and persons and move them to adopt the necessary measures.

[Stancheva] But is it not precisely this that is happening? Mr. Dobrev, the chief of this important commission, showed concern and invited you.

[Lukanov] I have not yet received the invitation.

[Stancheva] Will you say something more specific to the commission members if you decide to appear there?

[Lukanov] The issue is too delicate to be discussed in terms of refutation and evidence. My goal was first of all to prompt the reaction of the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

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[Stancheva] Interior Minister Nachev reacted already at the plenum, and called from the floor "Andrey, can you cite any evidence...."

[Lukanov] If the evidence were to be found on the streets, it would mean that the special services were not doing their job.

[Stancheva] One month ago, you requested protection because, according to you, you were being followed and threatened. Is it this that prompted you to think that the same is happening also to others?

[Lukanov] As far as I know, the threats against me come from criminal structures. I am far from the thought that the government of my party could threaten me. My statement was not prompted at all by personal considerations, and cannot be viewed as a personal grievance.

[Stancheva] Do you really believe that the government will hear you and adopt measures?

[Lukanov] I hope so. Otherwise, they will assume a grave responsibility.

[Stancheva] Do you know the names of the people who are behind all this?

[Lukanov] I repeat, they are individual members of the executive power, who forget in what times they are living.

[Stancheva] Nevertheless, you do have a specific name, do you not?

[Lukanov] If I had one I would not disclose it to you.

Bulgaria: OSD's Raychev Views Differences With BSP

AU2203094596 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 14 Mar 96 p 8

[Interview with Andrey Raychev, a member of the Alliance for Social Democracy faction of the BSP, by Emiliya Ivanova; place and date not given: "Andrey Raychev: 'People Around Orion Are Exceptionally Harmful to the BSP'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ivanova] One of the results of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] plenum [10 March] was that the ideological currents within the party were apparently removed from the plenum hall. I am asking you to confirm this because you were among those who were removed.

[Raychev] No one was removed. Some people were not admitted. This is a procedural dispute, which I generally consider as stupid. Obstacles are being created in a formal manner. The issue is simple: According to the BSP Statute the members of the ideological currents have the right to be represented in all organs.

There is a BSP Executive Bureau decision according to which members of the leaderships of the ideological currents—"The Marxist Alternative" and the Alliance for Social Democracy [OSD]—have the right to attend the plenum. However, at the plenum itself it transpired that it was not a plenum, or rather not only a plenum. Afterward, there was a meeting of the leaderships of the so-called coalition partners. The result was a decision based on a formal pretext, according to which members of the ideological currents cannot participate in such meetings because the partners do not want them there. In other words, Miss Nevena Gyurova of Ecoglasnost, for example, does not want us to attend.

[Ivanova] This sounds like a rather formal explanation.

[Raychev] I agree. It was all just a pretext.

[Ivanova] And you accept this?

[Raychev] Not only do I not accept this, I am indignant. This is a simple way of avoiding criticism and it does not bode well for the BSP. After all, the essence of the party reform was the diversity of its currents. If the party runs away from its diverse character or uses it as window dressing, the party will lose.

[Ivanova] Two days before the plenum, at a discussion with political scientists you said that one must help the BSP, perhaps by providing it with consensual crutches, to avoid the revival of this terrible thing, dictatorship, which we are being threatened with. Did you say this?

[Raychev] No, I did not say anything like this. I said something else, namely, that democracy in Bulgaria is not able to walk yet, and if we leave things to nature democracy will simply disappear. This is the essence of my position. This is something for which there must be consensual responsibility not only on the part of the BSP, but on the part of all participants in politics. Unfortunately, this position is being rejected.

[Ivanova] I would ask you to comment on the statement by Professor Dr. Dragomir Dobrev, who said: "If there is anything in which the Komsomol members have no experience, then it is the democratic regime. They hate it instinctively. If there is anything they do not give a damn about, it is public opinion and the democratic press. They simply suppress them or ignore them. If they are experts in anything, then it is in how to stay in power and not relinquish it to anyone. They have been taught this for 45 years. They also know how to justify themselves."

[Raychev] I am a friend of Dragomir Draganov. I have always had a high regard for him, but he tends to ex-

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aggerate in political discussions. Videnov, Premyanov, and Nikolay Dobrev are all younger than 45. One can hardly accuse them of being Komsomol members for 45 years and of being taught anything there. Nevertheless, I do think that a tendency toward strengthening personal power exists, especially at the center of the BSP. Unfortunately, it is not just a matter of character, but a matter of a specific concept. There is a certain circle of people who think that strengthening their personal power equals strengthening the state. This is unacceptable, or even worse.

[Ivanova] Do you think that we are threatened by a more refined dictatorship, which some people call late Stalinism?

[Raychev] No, there will be no late Stalinism. I will say the following: Bulgaria is wavering between the First and Third World. If we fail to continue along the European road, implement the reforms, and strengthen democracy, the danger exists that the nation will degenerate and the relevant type of government will emerge. You could call it a dictatorship if you will.

[Ivanova] For a week, we have been asking the same question: Why did Valeri Naydenov, chief editor of 24 CHASA and artistic director of your magazine SEGA, sign the last issue as "a future former artistic director." What is the matter? Is he about to lose his job?

[Raychev] No, why? On the contrary. We will not part. At least I do not have any such intention, and I hope that he does not intend to leave us. I think that you should ask him why he signed the magazine in this way. Actually, I do know why, but it would not be proper for me to answer you.

[Ivanova] Mr. Naydenov said that for the time being he intends to keep silent. Could Orion [business group, thought to be associated with Prime Minister Videnov and some of his close advisers] possibly buy SEGA? It has also been said that Orion intends to buy 24 CHASA and the Pressgroup.

[Raychev] I do not know, but I do not believe it. I do not think that they like the magazine that much.

[Ivanova] Are you not in the front ranks of those who are struggling against Orion?

[Raychev] No, you must understand. I am not struggling against Orion. I think that I am merely struggling against certain horrible tendencies that are very costly for the BSP, let alone the state.

[Ivanova] Is Orion one of those horrible tendencies?

[Raychev] I think that the people around Orion are exceptionally harmful to the party.

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Czech Republic: Havel on Meeting With Christopher

LD2103184796 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Winning peace may prove more difficult than winning the Cold War, Czech President Vaclav Havel said today, commenting on his talks yesterday with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Vaclav Havel said that, during the talks, he had praised the U.S. Administration for being aware of its great global responsibility for current developments in the world. The president went on to say that he used every opportunity to challenge those views in the United States that favor isolationism and according to which the United States won the Cold War and so is now free to concentrate on its own affairs only.

Czech Republic: Daily: Havel-Kwasniewski Talks 'Promising'

AU2103175096 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Mar 96 p 12

[Commentary by Lubos Palata: "Havel Has Again Taken a Step Forward"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Vaclav Havel and his Polish counterpart, Aleksander Kwasniewski, outlined at a meeting in Nachod their views on the position of Russia and the level of its incorporation into euro-atlantic structures. Havel envisages Europe's future as cooperation among regional groupings and considers an enlarged NATO to be one of them.

From the Czech Republic's point of view, this was perhaps the first such clear statement to come from the most senior representatives of our state. It is important that it was uttered just a few hours before the arrival of U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher for meetings with the heads of the 12 East European diplomatic corps.

The question is, of course, whether this notion is just a personal opinion—albeit that of the president—or the official stance of Czech diplomacy. At the same time, the formulation of a position on Russia's future role should be the foundation stone from which policy toward Moscow, and not only toward it, could evolve. The fact that this point of view did not exist or was at least very ambiguous is further evidence of the weakness of our diplomacy toward this Eastern power. That it was formulated yesterday, however, offers hope of a turnaround for the better.

Havel's meeting with Kwasniewski yesterday, apart from this auspicious start, was also the culmination of one part of the long-term policy of the Castle, which always, even in times not inclined toward this, promoted close cooperation with Poland.

So, the presidents' talks turned into a meeting that could be a harbinger of a promising harvest in the form of very great expectations for the membership of the two countries in NATO and the European Union. Given that Prague and Warsaw are now partners, their cooperation is beginning to make an impression on Brussels and Washington. It should not be forgotten that this is the pinnacle of a long-term process that Vaclav Havel has supported from the start. His statement yesterday on the stance toward Russia has again pushed the main objective of our cooperation with Poland—that is, membership in NATO and the EU—an encouraging step forward.

Czech Republic: Russians Critic[illegible]ieleniec Duma Comments

AU2103175396 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Mar 96 p 2

[Report by "(mkl)" and CTK: "The Russian Embassy Has Criticized Zieleniec's Comments on the Russian Duma"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—The Russian Embassy in Prague yesterday criticized the comments made on Monday [18 March] by Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec concerning the recent resolution adopted by the Russian State Duma on the invalidity of the agreements annulling the Soviet Union.

Zieleniec said that the foreign ministers of the post-communist countries would discuss it at their meeting in Prague on Wednesday [20 March] with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The embassy also disagrees with Zieleniec's view that the Duma's decision is a manifestation of the predominance of imperial zeal in Russian policy over the willingness to cooperate.

"There is nothing to change in the minister's statement," said Tomas Seidl of the Foreign Ministry's press department in reaction to the embassy's criticism.

Presidents Vaclav Havel and Aleksander Kwasniewski also spoke fleetingly about the Duma's decision during their meeting in Nachod yesterday. "The Soviet Union has ceased to exist; that is the reality, regardless of the Russian Duma's declaration," said Havel afterwards. Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said yesterday that he views the decision of the lower chamber of the Russian parliament as more of a preelection game. "In any case, it is a sign indicating the ambitions of some people in Russia," said Klaus in an interview for Czech Radio. During his visit to Ukraine yesterday and before his departure for Prague, U.S. Secretary of State

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Warren Christopher described the Duma's decision as extraordinarily irresponsible, with a hint of intimidation.

Czech Republic: Survey Shows Growth of Trust in President

AU2103190596 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 Mar 96 p 2

[Report by Jiri Kubik: "People's Trust in President Grows, While Trust in Other Politicians Declines"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Most politicians at the top ranks of popularity are gradually losing supporters, while Presiden Vaclav Havel enjoys the trust of an ever-increasing number of people.

Staffers of the Center for Empirical Studies [STEM] believe that both of these trends have the same reason—the climacteric atmosphere before the elections to the Chamber of Deputies, which are to take place in only 10 weeks.

Support for politicians leading the popularity ranking according to the regular public opinion surveys began to decline in November of last year. Since that time, even the hitherto number-one—Vladimir Dlouhy, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] and industry and trade minister—has recorded significant losses. The decline in support did not pass by Josef Zieleniec, deputy chairman of the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] and foreign minister, Jiri Dienstbier, cochairman of the Free Democrats-Liberal National Social Party [SD-LSNS], Vaclav Klaus, prime minister and ODS chairman, or Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD].

"It is caused by the election campaign, when people begin to be more critical of conduct by the politicians and connect their names more with particular deeds," STEM staffer Pavel Simonik said yesterday.

The greatest drop recently was registered by ODS Deputy Chairman Jan Strasky. Since he took over the post of health minister last fall, 15 percent of the people have ceased to support him. The most marked increase, on the other hand, was recorded in March by Interior Minister Jan Ruml (ODS) and Chamber of Deputies Chairman Milan Uhde (ODS), who reached the top 12 most popular politicians for the first time.

STEM Director Jan Hartl named the election campaign also as the reason for the growing trust in President Havel, whose popularity STEM surveys in a poll separate from that of the popularity of the other politicians. Havel now enjoys the trust of 79 percent of respondents, which means for him an unprecedented number of supporters. In February, Havel was trusted by 76 percent, and last November by 67 percent.

"At present, certain topics on the political scene are coming to a head, and Havel has managed to safeguard the idea of a nonpartisan president. He appears as a certain islet of security in the rippled sea of moods," Hartl said. Although Havel still is supported mostly by people with right-wing convictions, he manages to gain to his side ever more people from the left wing.

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Popularity of Politicians in Individual Months (in percent)

Rank	Politician	Mar 95	Jul 95	Sep 95	Nov 95	Feb 96	Mar 96
1	V. Dlouhy (ODA)	85	80	78	83	75	71
2	J. Zieleniec (ODS)	72	68	67	68	63	65
3	J. Dienstbier (SD-LSNS)	76	73	71	74	62	61
4-5	J. Kalvoda (ODA)	49	50	52	60	62	59
4-5	P. Buzkova (CSSD)	53	61	57	63	56	59
6-7	J. Lux (KDU-CSL)	36	46	40	52	53	56
6-7	I. Kocarnik (ODS)	53	53	53	56	54	56
8	M. Zeman (CSSD)	55	63	55	57	56	54
9	V. Klaus (ODS)	56	58	56	56	55	53
10	J. Strasky (ODS)	59	53	55	60	49	45
11-[illegible]	M. Uhde (ODS)	37	38	38	37	36	42
11-12	J. Ruml (ODS)	29	32	33	35	36	42

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Slovakia: Schenk on U.S. Definition of Security Situation

LD2103232896 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1725 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk briefed journalists in Bratislava today on the results of Warren Christopher's meeting with the ministers of the 12 postcommunist countries in Prague yesterday. Schenk praised the fact that the participants in the meeting had had a chance to become familiar with the new definition of world security situation as seen by the United States. Asked by Slovak radio what the wording of the new definition was, the Slovak foreign minister said:

[Begin Schenk recording] The first aspect of the definition is that Warren Christopher defined three main challenges to be faced by the present-day Europe in its effort to secure full security and stability.

The first challenge lies in the fact the countries that are undergoing transformation must conclude their transformation and democratization process so as to be able to become fully integrated in European structures. That is the first challenge.

The second challenge is the fact that the United States must define anew its role in Europe and it must remain permanently present in Europe as one of major factors [passage as heard].

The third challenge, a joint one, is targeted both at NATO and those aspiring to NATO membership. It boils down to the fact that the new countries of the alliance, candidates, and future NATO members, will be considered equal partners, benefiting from all the advantages of the membership in this security alliance, but also bearing all the responsibilities. That is the first important aspect.

The other aspect is that the United States has confirmed that the present situation is untenable, that is a situation in which Europe is effectively divided into three subsystems: One formed by the prosperous countries of west Europe, the other by the countries undergoing transformation, and the third subsystem formed by the eastern countries threatened by isolation. Warren Christopher pointed out that the whole process should lead to setting up a complex security system, with the enlarged NATO as its important component part. The third, very important and very interesting aspect, concerned Russia. Warren Christopher rejected as a dangerous trend reminiscences aimed at reviving the former Soviet Union. At the same time, though, he confirmed that the United States had no right or ambition to intervene in Russia's internal developments, it will cooperate with anybody who emerges as the winner in democratic elections, and will continue its very close cooperative dialogue that will make it possible to enlarge NATO by the countries of central and east Europe.

Slovakia: Hofbauer: West Seeking Country's Partition

AU2103104196 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA (NARODNOSTNE NOVINY supplement) in Slovak 16 Mar 96 p I

[Article by Roman Hofbauer, deputy of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and chairman of the National Council of the Slovak Republic Committee for Economy, Privatization, and Enterprise: "Slovak Matra or Hungarian Slovakia? The Three Demarches Could Be Followed by Partition of Our State According to the 1918 Model"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] For thousands of years, the borders of empires have been determined by rulers and, above all, by their armies' combat capability.

In demarcating the borders of states after World War I, U.S. President Wilson, as representative of the central victorious power, for the first time invited as experts not only generals, but also professors of geography, ethnography, and history, who relied on documents, materials, and studies known and published at that time. Not only the will of rulers, but also the aspirations and the will of nations, were supposed to impress their mark upon the postwar arrangement of Europe.

The state borders of Slovakia, too, were drawn at that time, with the 1910 census serving as the main basis. It was a year of drastic Magyarization pressure. The statistical data gathered then was a telling reflection of this pressure. In the years after World War I, Slovakia had neither diplomacy nor any significant intelligentsia of its own and this situation was clearly reflected in the postwar negotiations on the state borders of Slovakia and Hungary. There was simply no one to convince the world community on the basis of exact arguments that it was not the Hungarian side that was damaged by the Trianon Treaty, but that drastic damage was suffered by Slovakia. Slovakia's southern border, as demarcated by the commission, cut off from our territory one-third of the triple-crowned hill on our state emblem, Matra, with half a million Slovaks living there. This historically Slovak territory, inhabited by Slovaks, had found itself for decades in Hungary. We are currently bearing witness to the extinction of this, formerly our biggest, national minority. Its extinction is accompanied by intensifying Hungarian and pro-Hungarian stridency about the alleged national oppression of the Hungarian

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minority in Slovakia, whose number has increased threefold since 1920....

The Dayton negotiations between Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Macedonia, and Montenegro on terminating the conflict in the Balkans were preceded by conference proposals for state borders in this part of Europe. The current peacemakers were using, apart from geographic, political, and military data, also ethnic data and solutions. Is it thus perhaps possible to assume that the present standard of knowledge in this complicated area is higher, and backed by more reliable data, than that of the commissions after World War I? I am afraid that the situation in this sphere is even worse than it was then.

Today, at a time when archeologists have dug through and documented the history of nations that have been extinct for hundreds or thousands of years, when even the most forgotten South American Indian tribes or African and Asian ethnic groups are the subject of scientific scrutiny, one would expect the relevant professional scholars to have a truly detailed knowledge of the ethnic composition in central Europe, and its historical evolution.

Why do I take an interest in this, in fact? The reason is quite logical. In the course of 12 months, Slovakia has been the addressee of three warning demarches containing gross lies and disinformation about the situation in our country, including false claims concerning the status of the Hungarian minority on the ethnically mixed territory of southern Slovakia. In 1938, three demarches were followed by the Munich [30 September] and Vienna Arbitrages [2 November] and by the severance of our state's border areas....

The EU states have let it be known that, for the time being, they do not reckon with an intervention [zakrok] against Slovakia in connection with the accusations contained in the demarches. For the time being....

Let us therefore take a look at the professional background materials, based on geographers' and ethnographers' knowledge about central Europe, on which present-day world strategists and political scientists are able to rely and on the basis of which they can decide on, and draw, the state borders of nations and states. Let us reach out for a publication of the Hammond Inc. publishing house in New Jersey, United States.

The genealogical tree of European languages in the mighty branch of Baltic-Slavic languages divides them into 11 languages. While 10 of them are in conformity with the linguistic composition of the Slav nations, the 11th language is unusual, because nonexistent. It is the Czechoslovak language. [passage omitted]

No less interesting is a small map of Europe documenting in color the territories inhabited by individual nations. The Hungarian nation is marked by a dark blue and this color takes up approximately one-third of Slovakia's territory. According to this map, Slovaks, who speak Czechoslovak, live to the north of the cities of Nitra, Banska Stiavnica, Roznava, and Kosice. There is not even a hint to suggest that in Slovakia there is not a single territory inhabited homogeneously by Slovak citizens of Hungarian nationality, that Slovakia has solely areas with an ethnically mixed population, and that, even in the ethnically mixed territory, citizens of Slovak nationality outnumber citizens of Hungarian nationality by almost 300,000. When we add to this the fact that northeastern Slovakia is marked as inhabited by Poles, the remaining part of the territory, inhabited by people speaking Czechoslovak, must convey the impression—at least to Americans and Anglo-Saxons, for whom the publication is primarily intended—of an incomprehensible entity of an ethnic group living in a dubious state.

I would not be paying any attention whatsoever to the whole matter, if this were not the representative publication Atlas of the World of the renowned U.S. publisher Hammond Incorporated, Maplewood, New Jersey, Mapmakers and Publishers for the 21st Century. The date of issue is October 1992. That is, the book is fairly recent, published at a time when the Slovak nation was distinctly articulating its national and state ambitions and aspirations within the framework of the two-nation federation and completing the process of becoming independent. Responsible for the accuracy of the data on central and northern Europe in this publication is Vincent H. Malstrom, Professor, Department of Geography, Dartmouth College, who is undoubtedly a sufficiently representative personality. The Americans, the Anglo-Saxon world, and the Western states are being presented with something that is at such odds with reality that, inevitably, one becomes convinced that this is not a case of ignorance but deliberate intention. Intention in whose favor? After all, nothing in the world happens without a reason.

In the first "cutting" of Slovak state borders by the peace commission after World War I, our (I stress: our!) historic Matra territory was cut off in favor of Hungary, on the basis of false 1910 data, complete with the half a million Slovaks living there.

The present screaming from Strasbourg and Brussels, seeking humanism, liberation, and tolerance for ethnic minorities, has until now produced three demarches full of lies about Slovakia. Is a fourth demarche on the way? (No doubt it is, Christian Democratic Movement). Will the demarches be followed by peace proposals, peace processes, and peace conferences about southern

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Slovakia? Background materials for this abound, just as they did in 1918, and what is lacking can be documented by representative publications such as Hammond's, which furnish evidence of the fact that one-third of Slovakia's territory is not inhabited by Slovaks, but by Hungarians. Is not, by chance, the road being paved in this way for a second severance of Slovakia in peace negotiations, be it in Dayton, Strasbourg, Brussels, or anywhere else?

One will not have to worry about the one-third of Slovakia that will be left, for it will be just as "viable" as the First Czechoslovak Republic was after the Munich arbitrage. And we are not short of permanently hungry neighbors from the near and not so near surroundings.

Is it just a coincidence that ancient Carthage and 18th and 19th century Poland experienced two partitions?

They did not survive the third one. Because they became extinct as a result.

Slovakia: Daily Contemplates NATO as Threat to Russia

AU2103144696 Bratislava SME in Slovak 19 Mar 96 p 4

[Commentary by Ondrej Dostal: "Who Endangers NATO?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The recent initiative of Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeniy Primakov, according to which Russia might agree to the integration of Central European states into NATO as long as it is not accompanied by an expansion of military structures of the alliance to these countries, indicates that a certain shift is taking place in the policy of Russia regarding the expansion of NATO.

Rather than a change of strategy, however, one can speak of a change in tactics. Namely, no qualitative change has taken place. The only novelty is that the Russian representatives in one breath emphasize that they do not want to interfere in the internal affairs of their one-time satellites, and immediately in the next sentence they do precisely that. Whether or not there will be NATO military bases in Slovakia is Slovak business only, and none of Russia's. Slovak diplomacy, traditionally sensitive to interventions from Hungary, does not at all notice the interference from Russia. To be fair, however, barring a few exceptions, a similar lack of interest in this matter characterizes the entire Slovak political scene.

The Russian arguments up to now against the expansion of NATO apparently do not work, and this will not change in the future. The fact that Russia perceives the entry of Central European countries into NATO as a threat to its future is considered an argument in the discussion mostly because Russia currently is in a certain interim stage, and it is not at all clear which way it will eventually develop. For a democratic and peace-loving Russia, which respects human rights within its borders and the independence of its neighbors, NATO is not a threat but rather an ally. NATO is a threat to another Russia, the totalitarian and aggressive one, the Russia that is attempting to control the surrounding countries. So, to be exact, it is a threat more to the imperial ambitions of the Kremlin than to Russia itself. The "concerns" of such a Russia, however, do not interest any democratic country.

Slovakia: Article Offers Profile of Olga Keltosova

96CH0076A Bratislava SLOVAK SPECTATOR in English 28 Feb-12 Mar 96 p 3

[Article by Rich Zednik: "Keltosova Named Ambassador to the UN"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] With the Cabinet's nomination of Olga Keltosova as ambassador to the United Nations on February 20, Slovakia will have a permanent representative in New York for the first time in two years.

Keltosova, the Minister of Labor, Social, and Family Affairs, will replace Charge d'Affaires Peter Tomka, who has served five years at the United Nations. She will bear the title of ambassador—the first Slovak in New York to do so since Eduard Kukan in 1994.

Keltosova, who said she had been aware of her candidacy for one year, was the only candidate under consideration, according to Foreign Minister Jural Schenk. "The post was vacant. It is important to have a permanent representative to our permanent mission."

The nomination now goes to President Michal Kovac, who is expected to approve the appointment.

As for who will replace Keltosova as Minister of Labor, Family and Social Affairs, State Secretary Vojtech Tkac, a member of the ruling Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), is widely seen as the likely successor, especially in light of the coalition's agreement that the ministry "belongs to HZDS," as Keltosova said.

Born February 27, 1943, in Pezinok.

Married; has one son and one daughter.

Studied journalism at Comenius University.

Excellent command of English and German.

Her early career included work as a journalist, translator, and interpreter.

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In 1989, she became press secretary of the Democratic Party (DS) and in 1990 she was elected to the Slovak Parliament, where she served as deputy chairwoman until September 1991. After differences with party leadership—partly over its participation in the removal of then-Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar—she left the DS and her post as parliamentary deputy chairwoman.

In 1992, Keltosova joined Meciar's HZDS and became the party's deputy chairwoman the next year. She served as Minister of Labor, Family, and Social Affairs from 1992 until March 1994 and then again following HZDS's victory in the 1994 elections.

Slovakia: Cabinet To Rule on Troop Deployment Abroad

AU2103191096 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Mar 96 p 2

[Article by Nora Sliskova and Pavol Vitko: "Bond Market Will Be Launched in May"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] On the basis of an initiative of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR] Defense and Security Affairs Committee, the Slovak Government discussed and approved at its meeting yesterday a government-sponsored bill that will secure the transfer of jurisdiction over some military activities from parliament to the government. Concerned are, above all, the approval of participation by members of the Slovak Republic Armed Forces in observer and peacekeeping missions as well as our troops' participation in international exercises within and outside the framework of the Partnership for Peace program. The current legislative proceedings regarding the approval of participation by members of the Slovak Republic Armed Forces in these operations were inflexible, in the government's opinion, and soldiers have even had to reject some foreign activities on this ground. Under the approved proposal, the government would be authorized to approve, for example, the training of members of the Slovak Republic Armed Forces outside the territory of Slovakia for a maximum of 30 days.

Slovakia: Kovac Wants To Restore Contact With Meciar

96CH0056A Prague PRAGUE POST in English 20 Feb 96 p 1

[Article by Maggie Ledford Lawson and Jan Stojaspal: "Kovac To Seek New Dialogue With Meciar"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bratislava—Slovak President Michal Kovac, who will not seek re-election, says a main goal during his remaining two years in office is to persuade Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar to speak to him again.

The two Slovak leaders last spoke July 27, 1995, shortly after Pope John Paul II's visit to Bratislava. That day's discussion, which lasted almost three hours, was about how to restore friendly communication.

A few days later, Kovac said he received a different sort of message from the Meciar-led Parliament, calling on him to resign. It was one of numerous efforts by the prime minister to oust Kovac, who wound up on Meciar's enemy list after criticizing his policies and contributing to the downfall of the previous Meciar government.

"I intend to get in touch with Meciar in the next week or two to ask for a meeting," said Kovac, a grandfatherly man with a round face and smile lines. He said he'll be 67 when his term ends in March 1998. "It'll be an opportunity for someone younger to be president."

While he awaits a hoped-for change in the political climate, Kovac spends his days in a kind of political Siberia. Shunted into temporary quarters in a leased building, he sees relatively few visitors. In the empty halls, sentries in pale khaki keep a lonely vigil, their footsteps echoing in the mid-afternoon emptiness.

A dialogue between the two offices is needed so that Slovakia can continue in a democratic direction, Kovac believes—and such communication must include constructive criticism.

He maintains his optimism in the face of Meciar's attempts to drum up the three-fifths vote in Parliament needed for the president's ouster, and in spite of other evidence suggesting that the schism between the two men is too broad to be bridged.

Slovak church leaders recently requested that Kovac and Meciar pray together for better relations, but failed to achieve even a minor miracle.

"Mr. Premier responded that he will take care of his own business with God," said Magda Pospisilova, a spokeswoman for Meciar. She compared the relationship between Meciar and Kovac to a marriage where hard feelings are so intense that reconciliation is virtually impossible.

The prime minister isn't the only person Kovac hasn't heard from in recent months. "The government ministers are avoiding me," he said. Kovac named them to office in December 1994. "That was when I talked to them last."

He says he's also cut off in other ways:

His office organized an Aug. 28, 1995, concert marking the 51st anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, inviting the government and the Parliament. The

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government ministers and the members of the Meciar's governing coalition didn't show.

And when foreign ambassadors hold receptions which the president is known to be attending, government officials boycott the party, except for "occasionally the foreign-affairs minister," he said.

When the government holds cultural events, "they don't invite the president," he added.

Kovac came to office in March 1993, as a member of Meciar's party, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), but the relationship between the two men soon cooled. In mid-August 1995, the HZDS expelled Kovac from the party.

Kovac's problems with Meciar started when Kovac sent several bills back to the Parliament on grounds that they were not in the interest of democracy; among the bills returned were several that furthered political cronyism in the country's privatization process, he said. "Maybe Mr. Premier considered this as some sort of attack on his policies and his person," he said.

Tensions between Meciar and Kovac reached the snapping point last fall, after the president's son Michal Kovac Jr. was kidnapped and taken to Austria in what is believed by a majority of Slovaks to be a politically inspired attempt to drive the president from office.

When he leaves office, Kovac will leave a vacuum that almost certainly will be filled by Meciar's hand-picked successor, according to Slovak political observers. The present Parliament, in which the Meciar coalition has 82 seats, will name the new president. Only 90 out of 150 parliamentary votes are needed to elect the president.

Kovac said his faith in his purpose is bolstered by polls showing support for him among the people. The Bratislava-based Fokus polling agency questioned 1,004 people in Dec. 1995, and found that 22.6 percent of respondents said they liked Kovac "very much" and 43.2 percent liked "some things about him." That favorable showing comes in spite of Meciar's increasing control over the media, which closes another of the president's channels of communication. "It's hard for me to get to speak," Kovac said.

Slovakia: Meciar Speaks at Roundtable With Executives

96CH0066D Bratislava SLOVAK SPECTATOR in English 13 Feb 96 p 3

[Article by Richard Lewis: "Roundtable Enables Government, Businesspeople To Talk Face-to-Face"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Foreign and Slovak business leaders with many questions on their mind received a soothing balm from Slovakia's highest public officials in a set of face-face discussions between corporate executives and the Slovak government in Bratislava's Hotel Forum on January 25-26.

Starting with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar's opening speech, the government's goal was evident: tout Slovakia's hard-earned and respected economic progress, while letting foreign investors know that they are welcome to do business here and can succeed at it.

In an almost hour-long address, Meciar touched upon virtually every aspect of Slovakia's economy ranging from macro-economic figures to how his administration plans to progress with individual industrial sectors in the future.

That strategy had a clear objective to encourage foreign partners to come in and take part. "Good business makes good friends," Meciar said. "We extend our hand to anyone who wishes to work with us."

Meciar clearly intended to zero in on economics. He made no reference in his address to Slovakia's political situation, his relationship with President Michal Kovac or to his past claims that the country has been negatively portrayed abroad. But prompted by a question from the audience, he attacked these nagging issues with relish. Speaking about Kovac, the prime minister said, "The small one shouts so he will be noticed." Landing a jab at the media, he continued, "The media people are such that if there are 100 people on a roof and one of them falls off, the media will write about the one that fell down rather than the 99 still on the roof."

By and large, participants gave high marks to Meciar's words. "I was impressed by the prime minister's depth of knowledge about his country" said Pierre Chollet, a managing partner at Coopers & Lybrand, an international auditing and consulting firm that helped sponsor the roundtable. "He painted a wide picture of the Slovak economy and the Slovak people and how the country is presenting itself in central Europe."

While Meciar's speech set an overall tone to the discussions, sponsored by the Economist Conferences, he left it to his ministers and other leading figures to field the sticky questions that each business person paid 20,000 Austrian schillings to ask. According to those present, many of the sharpest queries revolved around tax deductions and exemptions for enterprises and "general misunderstandings" regarding monopolies in certain sectors such as the gas industry.

Many of the participants applauded the officials for taking on those questions. "We were glad they didn't talk about macro-economic results," said Vladimir Kanich, the managing director for Ericsson Slovakia, a leading

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producer of mobile phones and private telecommunication networks and another conference sponsor. "They had a strong desire to think over how things could be changed to create a better environment for people doing business here."

At least one representative who had come from abroad held a more jaundiced view. "At times the questions were there," said D. Jeffrey Manners, the managing director of the Marsh and McLennan brokerage house who flew in from Brussels for the occasion. "But the answers were dreadfully evasive."

Especially foreigners doing business here have long held grievances over the government's handling of direct sales in the privatization process and its insistence to hold veto power in the decisions of select companies where it owns a minority share, commonly known as the "golden share."

But Kanich argued that it is now or never for Slovak ownership. "If there are no Slovak owners in privatization, then there will never be a time when they can become owners," he said. "I am not a nationalist, but when foreigners take over large companies, who become the managers? Foreigners. There is a strong will here not to throw away property only to foreigners but to wisely make decisions on foreign participation in Slovak companies."

Those who attended the roundtable discussions did agree that they served to shed light on a country that is unknown, or misunderstood, to many. "There aren't as many problems to get into Slovakia as people think there are," said Regina Ovesny-Straka, the director of Creditanstalt Slovakia, one of the conference's sponsors. "The Slovak government has tried to explain what opportunities lie in this country. The difficulty that foreign investors face is that they don't know about Slovakia. (But) companies that are here are very positive about their investment most of the time."

Meciar himself employed virtually the same tactic. "The economic sector behaves more rationally than the political sector," he said. "Please don't place any more significance on things than what is really there. There has been no political uprising here."

Slovakia: Meciar Defends Law Restricting Freedom of Opinion

AU2103114096 Vienna Oesterreich Eins Radio Network in German 0600 GMT 21 Mar 96

[Report on interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Joana Radzyner in Vienna; date not given—recorded; Meciar statements in Slovak fading into German translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Radzyner] Vladimir Meciar sees his country as seriously threatened.

[Meciar] In our country, internal processes cannot mature, because they are promptly internationalized.

[Radzyner] The Slovak head of government is commenting on a bill for the protection of the republic, which the government, owing to massive criticism by the opposition at home and by media abroad, had to drop before it could even be raised in Parliament. Now a simple amendment to the penal code is to codify the state's security interests. The fact that provisions are utilized to this end that were formerly applied by the communist single-party state against the regime's critics and were removed by Czechoslovakia in 1990 because they were considered totalitarian does not interest the Slovak head of government. Thus every public assembly will henceforth be punishable that is intended to destroy the republic's constitutional order, territorial integrity, or independence. Moreover, every citizen who deliberately spreads untruthful information detrimental to the republic will be liable to a prison term of two years.

[Meciar] This law is intended as a preventative measure and is to protect the state from any offense. I do not think any country would admit to its security interests or its territorial integrity being threatened. So these are very ordinary standards that are not called into question anywhere but in Slovakia. It will be up to the independent courts to decide whether intent must be assumed in a given case and to put the law into practice. The courts will also make sure that this law applies to everyone and could therefore also be aimed against myself and my friends.

[Radzyner] What could theoretically be aimed against Meciar is virtually already being aimed against the Hungarian minority, which is concerned about its rights, and against Slovak President Michal Kovac, whom the Meciar government has for a long time accused of treason against the external security of the state by making critical statements abroad.

By the way, the Slovak head of government also refers to the independent courts in connection with the kidnapping of the president's son and taking him to Austria, a case which still has not been clarified and in which the intelligence service, which is controlled by Meciar, is allegedly also involved.

[Meciar] As long as no member of the intelligence service is convicted, the intelligence service is not guilty. What the press wrote is lies and propaganda.

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Was he really kidnapped? After all, Michal Kovac was in Vienna owing to an arrest warrant issued by the Munich Public Prosecutor's Office. Certainly no one will seriously believe that the German Government cooperates with the Slovak intelligence service.

[Radzyner] The opposition's demand that parliament should deal with the Kovac Jr. kidnapping case was rejected by Meciar's government coalition on 20 March.

Slovakia: Penal Code Amendment Said Against Civil Rights

AU2203085996 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Mar 96 p 4

[Commentary by Juraj Handzo: "Nightfall Over Slovak Democracy?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The most controversial item on the agenda of the 14th meeting of the National Council of the Slovak Republic [NRSR], which is opening today, is, no doubt, the amendment to the Penal Code. It is evident that the amendment concerns basic civil rights such as freedom of speech and the right to information. Acts constituting the crime of subverting the republic, which featured in the Penal Code prior to November 1989, are to return to it in a slightly modified form. The proposed amendment to the Penal Code might bring nightfall over democracy in Slovakia. Should articles No. 92 a) and 92 b), starting with the words "He who, with the intention of subverting the constitutional system...," be approved in the proposed form, it will be possible to prosecute any, even justified, criticism of social conditions. Some say that the possibility will arise to punish even intentions, and not just commenced or executed crimes. The vague and general formulation of the new articles will permit their universal misuse. It will be possible to charge not only trade union functionaries who organized a strike, or opposition leaders who criticized the government at a rally, with the intention to subvert the republic, but even ordinary citizens publicly expressing discontent with the policies of the state.

It goes without saying that the aforementioned articles would also make it possible to punish inconvenient journalists. Critical commentaries exposing the aberrations of the ruling team could put journalists any time into the position of dangerous criminals. This threat is heightened by another proposed article (No. 98 on damaging the interests of the Republic), which concerns the intentional spreading of false information detrimental to the interests of the republic. A journalist who will publish in any mass medium a critical opinion, such as a political commentary, could, on the basis of this article, be charged with a criminal offense because he should realize that his contribution might be quoted by some foreign mass media. In view of the "elastic" wording of these articles and the broad interpretation they permit, no journalist will ever be sure that he cannot land before the court on charges of "subverting the republic." (Incidentally, the same risk will be faced by any Slovak citizen who will discuss the situation in our country with foreign journalists.) Is the court also going to decide which opinion is correct and which false?

The psychological effect of the permanent threat of punishment is easy to imagine: People will be afraid of expressing their views on public matters, the mass media will be as servile as they were once, and citizens will learn the truth about the situation in this country only from foreign media, from Voice of America broadcasts, for example.

One more thing: The argument of the supporters of the amendment, namely that there exists a safeguard against the misuse of the amendment in the form of independent courts, does not hold water. The independence of courts does not mean that they are independent of the law. If the law defines certain conduct as criminal, the courts must punish it as such, in conformity with the law. Even if it were an antidemocratic law returning this country into deep totalitarianism.

Slovakia: Unions Fear Code Amendment May Curb Rights

AU2103180196 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 20 Mar 96 p 2

[Article by Lubos Jurina: "The KOZ SR Has Asked International Trade Union Organizations for Support"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—The draft amendment to the Penal Code could lead to the unjustifiable restriction of Slovak citizens' basic rights and freedoms, including trade union rights, and to the harassment of employees and their elected representatives. This assertion was made yesterday by the Slovak Republic Confederation of Trade Unions (KOZ SR) Presidium in its adopted statement.

The trade unionists are alarmed by new Articles 92a and 92b (Subversion of the Republic) and Article 98 (Damaging the Interests of the Republic). According to the statement, "their general formulation creates unlimited scope for their misuse."

"The proposed amendment attempts to restrict citizens' rights to assemble and associate peacefully to protect their economic and social interests. One of the methods of the trade unions' work is to organize assemblies and meetings. Article 92b includes these activities among acts that—under certain circumstances, which,

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however, it does not specify—subvert the Republic," said KOZ SR Vice President Marian Lacko to NARODNA OBRODA. The KOZ SR has also asked international trade union organizations—the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (the largest global trade union organization) and the European Trade Union Confederation (it affiliates trade unionists from the European Union countries and associated countries)—for assistance in protecting the trade unionists' rights.

The KOZ SR Presidium has appealed to National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies to "consider responsibly the consequences of the proposed amendment to the Penal Code for the basic rights and freedoms of the Slovak Republic's citizens."

Slovakia: Expert: Code Amendment Reverts to Pre-1989 Era

AU2003200496 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Mar 96 p 5

[Article by Lubos Jurina: "The First Prerequisite for Establishing SIS Investigative Units"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Associate Professor Vladimir Cecot from the Department of Criminal Law and Criminology attached to the Faculty of Law at Comenius University in Bratislava, in an interview for NARODNA OBRODA, described the amendment to the Penal Code as constructionally illogical from the point of view of legal theory and as dangerous from the point of view of its contents. The amendment will be submitted at the National Council of the Slovak Republic session that begins on Wednesday, 20 March.

The Politicization of Crimes

In its first section, entitled Subversion of the Republic, the proposed amendment supplements Article 92 with stipulations contained in another two articles.

Article 92a talks about a penalty of one to five years imprisonment or a financial penalty for anyone "who, with the intention of subverting the republic's constitutional system, territorial integrity, or its defense capability or of overturning its independence, commits the crimes of attacking a state body in accordance with Article 154; attacking a public official in accordance with Article 155, Paragraph 1; violence against a group of citizens and against an individual in accordance with Article 196; defaming nation, race, and creed in accordance with Article 198a; spreading an alarming report in accordance with Article 199, Paragraphs 1 and 2; or breaching the freedom of association and assembly in accordance with Article 238a."

Article 92b imposes penalties on anyone "who, with the intention of subverting the republic's constitutional system, territorial integrity, or its defense capability or of overturning its independence, organizes a public assembly of citizens."

According to V. Cecot, the augmented articles emphasize repeatedly and unnecessarily, from a legal point of view, the facts contained in other stipulations of the Penal Code. "This will lead to inaccuracy in interpreting them. Literally, according to Article 92a, a crime is committed by anyone who commits another crime," states V. Cecot.

However, the diction of the proposed paragraphs creates opportunities for politicizing crimes. "Traditional crimes are included among the facts of crimes that subvert the republic. For example, an attack on a public official or violence against a group of citizens becomes, in a certain context, an act against the republic," points out V. Cecot.

What Is True and What Is a Lie

The proposed amendment contains the new Article 98 called Damaging the Interests of the Republic. According to it, anyone "who, as a citizen of the Slovak Republic or a person without citizenship who has permanent residence on the territory of the Slovak Republic, deliberately spreads untrue reports abroad that damage the interests of the republic will face a penalty of up to two years imprisonment or a financial penalty."

An analysis of the proposed article has led V. Cecot to the conclusion that "in all probability, this involves renewing the original stipulations annulled by the first amendments to the Penal Code after 1989—the original stipulation contained in Article 98 (Subverting the Republic) and Article 100 (Sedition). These stipulations could have served as a model during the drafting of the proposed Article 98."

A 1962 digest of penal decisions, No. 40, placed "the systematic affirmation of statements aimed against our state system" under the concept of subverting the republic. In order to commit the proposed crime of damaging the interests of the republic, it is again necessary "to deliberately spread untrue reports abroad that damage the interests of the republic..."

From the point of view of proving the crime of damaging the interests of the republic, who determines what is a true report is important. "The explanatory report on the proposed amendment did not even refer to this. It does not say what in fact induced the proposer to codify such a stipulation in the Penal Code and why he has restricted the constitutional right to freedom of speech," states V. Cecot.

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A Question Mark Over Public Courts

"It is impossible to rule out that the proposed amendment to the Legal Code will also have an influence on the anticipated amendment to the Criminal Code and return the issue of objective relevance in this matter to the form prior to 1989," says V. Cecot.

At that time, there was within the framework of the StB [State Security] a special investigation department. Only a prosecutor bound by state secrecy and a lawyer assigned to such crimes could be briefed on the investigation documents. "It is impossible to prove crimes against the state without special means subject to secrecy—bugging devices, surveillance, secret collaborators operating as agents, and so on," comments V. Cecot. Thus, the amendment to the Penal Code creates a legal framework for establishing Slovak Information Service investigative units. Prior to 1989, there were special tribunals of judges attached to the courts that made decisions on crimes against the state without the involvement of the public. The number of convicted citizens, the article according to which they were convicted, and the length of their sentences were always announced in the statistics at the end of the year. The public was not informed of the specific facts of the cases and the means of proving them.

"The public principle is an expression of the constitutional principles enshrined in Chapter 48 and Chapter 142, Paragraph 3 of the Slovak Republic Constitution. This means that the direct participants and also other citizens can take part in the court proceedings in criminal matters. It is also a guarantee that the authority of the courts cannot be abused," emphasizes V. Cecot.

Slovakia: Schenk Interviewed on Minorities Question

LD2103142696 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk briefed a news conference in Bratislava today on the results of the Prague meeting of foreign ministers. Prior to this news conference he gave an interview to editor Jozef Rebo who was interested in Schenk's meeting with Hungarian Foreign Minister Laszlo Kovacs:

[Begin recording] [Rebo] During the bilateral talks you met with, among others, your Hungarian counterpart Laszlo Kovacs. Has this meeting brought anything new? To tell the truth, it seems at times that everyone is talking about something else, not even agreeing on terms, for example what a minority is—some say ethnic minority, others say national minority.

[Schenk] [Passage omitted] There is the question of minorities and I told Minister Kovacs several times that not all problems can be viewed primarily through the prism of ethnic problems, that there are simply matters which are not connected with them. The Hungarian side argues in this connection on a considerably general level, above all, using the happiness of the minority and the feelings of the minority, as well as the need to accept these feelings.

I told Mr. Kovacs that if we start talking about the feelings of the minority, one automatically has to take into account also the feelings of the majority. Talking about feelings or happiness, these are notions which do not have an upper limit and the feelings, happiness or the lack of it, can be escalated to extreme positions. This is not the way to seek a practical solution to these problems. The Slovak side sees a way out in that these feelings and happiness are limited by a legal democratic framework, implementing fundamental human and civil rights at the level of the European standards. Everything that exceeds this framework is extreme and unacceptable and will not be accepted at all by the Slovak side. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Slovakia: Listening Device Found in Kosice Mayor's Office

AU2103150996 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 19 Mar 96 p 1

[Report by CTK: "Rudolf Schuster Confirmed Existence of 'Bug' in His Office"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kosice—The existence of a listening device in his office was confirmed to CTK yesterday by Kosice Mayor Rudolf Schuster. As he stated, though he has not yet seen the so-called bugs, measurements carried out in his office last week confirmed this suspicion. The affair regarding the bugging and surveillance of the Kosice mayor broke out late last week when the local press published reports about leaks of confidential information at the city's magistrate. According to findings obtained thus far, persons whose identity allegedly is not known have broken into the computer system and into a program containing confidential information about the mayor's correspondence, a fact which Rudolf Schuster termed a "dirty trick." Although the culprit is not known, according to various speculations, Vladislav Chlipala, chairman of the Democratic Party's district organization and a former member of the Federal Security and Information Service, and Vice Mayor Rudolf Bauer, representative of the City Coordinating Center of the Christian Democratic Movement, who, according to the local press, "feels no great affection" for the mayor, could be behind the affair. Both men have rejected the accusations.

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[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 16 March on page 3 carries a 400-word report by "eb" on the suspicion of unauthorized entry into the computer system of the Kosice magistrate, which specifies that, according to a statement by an unidentified employee of the Kosice magistrate published in the Kosice local paper KORZO, "the listening devices have been found in the fluorescent lights" of Schuster's office.]

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Hungary: Duma's Vote To Restore Soviet Union Viewed

AU2003173596 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Mar 96 p 3

[Editorial by Gabor Horvath: "Revanche"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The struggle is a matter of life and death. With its decision made through the votes of communists and nationalists, the Russian Duma made it clear to the electorate and the outside world that a revanche is definitely in the making. The intention to restore the Soviet Union has always been there in the air, but the current gesture unequivocally signals what Russia and the whole world can expect if Gennadiy Zyuganov wins the presidential elections.

First of all, enormous chaos, fleeing capital and capitalists, demagogy, and aggressive imperialism. Then, probably rationing, strike waves, repressions, limitation of the freedom of speech, and finally an iron curtain. Of course, as everyone knows, the decision to restore the Soviet Union will not revive the communist superpower. Nor is it necessary. A hungry and impoverished Russia that feels humiliated is the best terrain for the setting up of a dictatorship.

The outside world must not chase any illusions. Zyuganov has not become a social democrat. Nor has the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. The presidential candidate openly accepts and even demands the support of the 1932-era Bolshevik Anpilov and the similarly 1932-era fascist Barkashov. This party has chosen the road of extremisms, rather than the road of reforms, and xenophobia and anti-Semitism play the same ritual role in its movements as populism that promises an immediate increase in living standards. The leaders of the aforementioned party do not deny that, in addition to their published program that accepts a multiparty system and a mixed economy, they also have a secret "maximal" one. The Communist Party of the Russian Federation is the embodied anachronism itself, rather than a successor party that became a normal political factor in other countries.

On the other side, there is Yeltsin; corruption is flourishing under him, and tens of thousands of people are killed in a totally senseless and undeclared war. But the current president rejected the offering of the national-Bolshevik writer-politician Limonov. There is even an independent press under him, and no one is imprisoned for political views today, not even people who would not guarantee the same if they were at the top. So far, Russia has been living within acceptable boundaries for the outside world.

There are people who claim that the issue here is only the struggle between the two wings of the former communist nomenclature. Those who changed course in due time are now protecting their privatized billions within the walls of power.

However, those who missed the 1991 train want to regain their lost privileges as well as their power over life and death by mobilizing the lower third of the population.

The decision of the lower house of the parliament on restoring the Soviet Union is not yet a law without the approval of the upper house and the president, so, legally, it is not a strong act similar to the Supreme Council decision in 1991. It is highly probable that it is also a mistake from a tactical viewpoint, because most voters—the "morass"—can now start pondering, and this is always dangerous. According to well-informed sources, the Kremlin is already working on how to describe this seemingly riskless and demonstrative vote as a coup attempt and to use it to postpone the presidential elections. Yeltsin's first, overly emotional and hasty statement—a statement that again said more than necessary by a half Freudian sentence—showed all this: "They want to hinder the elections? Because they will not be able to achieve anything else anyway."

So, we are again talking about whether elections will be held or not. If yes, they will be quite extraordinary elections. The expression of the people's will had such a stake only once in this century: in the Germany of the 1930's.

Hungary: Article Deplores Army's Technical State

AU2003191396 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 19 Mar 96 p 4

[Article by Irene Szabo and Attial Lenart: "Domestic Military Equipment Is Obsolete"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Army would like to purchase modern combat aircraft and air defense missiles. However, there is no money for these expensive purchases, because the purchase of 30 "empty" combat aircraft would cost 200 billion forints [Ft] at today's prices. In its military equipment development concept prepared three years ago, the Hungarian Army set out to modernize the Air Force and the Missile Units, and Parliament also approved the plan in principle. Of the 180 aircraft permitted to Hungary, there are only 80 combat aircraft in battle array. Military experts claim that, by the year 2000, only 22 aircraft will be left operational to defend our airspace if the purchase of new aircraft is delayed. Almost every military equipment of our soldiers belongs in the museum, but a complete change in the equipment would cost Ft1,500 billion.

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Most of the 24,000 military tranport vehicles are in bad shape. One can find 30-to-40-year-old vehicles among them. Most of the 835 tanks are "obsolete," and one can hardly find any modern ones among them. Some experts think that the change and rejuvenation of transport vehicles and land troops armament would be more important than the purchase of new combat aircraft.

However, Lieutenant General Nandor Hollosi, head of the Material and Technical Main Department of the Hungarian Army, told us that the basic equipment of both the Air Force and Land Troops are equally obsolete. At current prices, a full-range modernization of our military technology would cost around Ft1,500 billion (!). One cannot even dream of such an amout of money.

The Hungarian Defense Ministry supports the purchase of missiles and the principled interest in combat aircraft. The former would "only" cost $300 million, but the aircraft would require at least 1.5 billion [currency not specified].

Tenders for the purchase of small-range air-defense missiles were issued recently, and 12 foreign firms submitted their proposals that will be examined on 5 April.

Tenders for the purchase of radar systems will be issued this summer. The issue of combat aircraft remains undecided. Many people, including Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti, think that one should not make a final decision now. In his view, it is not correct to burden future governments with considerable payment obligations. Others would find it quite dangerous if the state of our air defense did not move out of its current deadend. In their view, the issue of a tender now would only mean that we would have some modern combat aircraft in five or six years' time. It also appears as a hidden desire that, with Western purchases, we could change the current full dependence of our air-defense systems on Russian hardware.

It was mentioned recently that the Hungarian Army would purchase the armament of the U.S. IFOR [Implementation Force] troops after their departure scheduled at the end of this year. There have not yet been official talks on this intention, but General Ferenc Vegh, the first deputy of the Hungarian Army's Chief of Staff, thinks that they would be bad soldiers if they did not take this possibility into consideration. The units are eagerly waiting for the BTR-80 armored personnel vehicles which the Hungarian Army is to receive in exchange for the Russian state debt, just like the MiG-29 aircraft.

The army is buying equipment that it actually has the possibility to purchase, and not that it needs, some military experts claim. In connection with the purchase of missiles, Imre Fulop, head researcher at the Strategic and Defense Research Institute, said earlier that, as a result of these purchasing attempts, a situation might emerge that appears as if we were putting the cart before the horse. We should only enquire about new technology once we have prepared the army's comprehensive renewal concept. First, we should make a political decision on the type of army Hungary needs, and this also means that we must decide on how much to spend on modernizing our army.

Besides, the Defense Committee of the Hungarian Parliament will only approve the purchase of combat aircraft if this is part of a long-term concept—Imre Mecs, chairman of the committee, told us and added that, naturally, they will not interfere in the soldiers' professional tasks, but they demand that the committee examine the tender before it is issued and they also demand the right to supervise the examination of proposals.

We are well aware of the fact that one could set up a technological museum at certain army units, Imre Mecs told NEPSZAVA. Imre Mecs also pointed out that reductions have been going on since 1980. Therefore, we must face the fact: The current technical equipment of the Hungarian Army gives us a false sense of security. Therefore, their position is that the money earned from the ongoing reduction of personnel should be spent on development.

According to the defense minister, there is a political decision on Hungary's defense issues, and Parliament has approved the tasks involved in the reorganization of the Hungarian Army up to the year 2005. It is another matter that certain principles must be reformulated. In Gyorgy Keleti's view, turning an army of recruits into a "professional" army is basically a matter of money. Therefore, politics can only set this as a long-term goal.

Military experts described concepts according to which a small army of 30,000-40,000 professional soldiers would be sufficient to defend the country. The planned reduction of regular army service to nine months would have been in harmoy with the aforementioned plan, but this has not yet been implemented for lack of funds. According to information deriving from within the army, some of the officers are not very enthusiastic about the idea of creating a professional army either because, in that case, only every third current professional soldier would be able to keep his job.

In addition to the lack of funds, other reasons also hinder and slow the reevaluation of the situation of

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the Hungarian Army. Our military leadership got into an almost impossible situation when it was ordered to take measures in favor of joining NATO, although NATO has not yet formulated the requirements that the Hungarian Army has to fulfill in order to become a member. On the contrary: Because of Moscow's opposition, NATO has not yet made a decision on its expansion toward east-central Europe. Some military experts do not exclude the possibility that NATO will open its gates for Hungary because the Russians actually do not fear from Hungary's NATO membership. The main question is where the possibly new NATO border will be.

Hungary: West Seen as Shortsighted About East Europe

AU2103093496 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Mar 96 p 7

[Editorial by Gyorgy Timar: "The West at a Crossroads"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I read in a newspaper that, according to NATO Secretary General Javier Solana, "the east-central European countries have no reason to worry that NATO will not implement the eastern expansion," it is already "a decided matter." On the other hand, in another report, I noticed an analysis by the U.S. Potomac Foundation's experts. According to this, even the participation by these countries in the Bosnian peacemaking has not significantly improved their chances of being admitted to NATO.

One is inclined to sense some sort of contradiction here. It is, of course, possible to say that there is no question of any contradiction, or there can only be a seeming contradiction at most because Solana talked about nothing other than the "silently ticking" (?) clock of the countdown, and the Potomac people only, or mainly, see the current technical deficiencies of the east-central European military forces as an obstacle to membership; in other words, the whole issue is only a matter of time.

However, we did not get any information from either Solana or the report of the U.S. analysts as to how many decades this certain "silently ticking" clock is set for, while other things in our region are ticking away not exactly silently. I am thinking of the concomitant increase of ethnic and social tensions. On top of all this, the Potomac Foundation believes that, in addition to the unsatisfactory level of the equipment of the Hungarian Armed Forces, Budapest's chances are made worse by the "unsettled Slovak and Romanian relations."

I get the impression that the analysts who are doing their thinking in the United States again do not understand anything—either of Eastern, or of Central Europe. Just as they have not been able to focus on anything outside their own narrow interests throughout the whole of the 20th century. Unfortunately, a large part of Western Europe is their "worthy" partner in this.

For example, let us take the case of the German capital injection that is to be given to Hungary. The EU (together with the IMF) can even veto the transfer of the money, for which the Germans signed a contract, if it finds it harmful for the market of its own privileged membership. In these circumstances, one might even ask how the West sees Hungary's admission to the West possible to implement.

And anyway, does the West know what it actually wants? Does it perhaps want a partner that all of a sudden jumps up from the dirt to a high level of technical civilization? Does it want a small country that is beginning to revive from a semicolonial position to produce within two to three years that which the West needed centuries to produce in spite of the former huge possibilities (the almost unlimited and ruthless colonization) of the original accumulation of capital? Relying on its own resources? Without oppressing others and without being supported by others? Even after the many bitter experiences, are the West's major and medium powers still unable to realize that they can only spare themselves from new historical afflictions if, rather than limiting euro-status to their own few countries, they attach as broad as possible a region to it in order to prevent another Bosnia-type explosion? Would it not be worthwhile (also) for them to invest in real, overall peace programs with some kind of concept instead of always rushing to extinguish fires that are already burning? Have they not noticed that, in Hungary, it is not only the supporters and advocates of isolation (which objectively means falling behind for good) who criticize the West's policies, but—of course, for other reasons—all normal and balanced political forces, from the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] to the Hungarian Democratic People's Party, from Matyas Eorsi [SZDSZ member head of parliamentary foreign affairs committee] to Geza Jeszenszky [former foreign minister] are doing the same?

The signs are that the West has come into conflict with itself over the concepts. It does not know what it wants: simply to protect the market interests of privileged countries against possible east-central European competition, or to expand its own military and security zone (which is not free either for those coming under the defense umbrella or for those holding up the umbrella)?

It is difficult to know what to do with the logic of yes and no, that "when you get out of trouble, you

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can rely on us." If you please, either you would like to see that no social or ethnic pockets of fire remain in this part of the old continent or, from the outset, you are satisfied with being worried that the east-central European children will grow up one day just to make trouble. Very soon, depending on the Russian elections, it might become a matter of urgency to include new steps in the choreography of "one step forward, one step back." It might also be worth thinking about this on the other side of the continent—and, the same way, on the other side of the Atlantic.

Finally, permit me to call the attention of the Potomac analysts and other "experts" to the fact that the issue of good relations with one's neighbors does not depend on Hungary. It is not the Hungarian minorities torn away by the West from the mother country after the two world wars that discriminate against the local majority. In addition, these minorities are extremely peaceful: They do not have and will not have anything like the Basque ETA or the Irish IRA.

In our country, which has been sent to the waiting room, this might be the only issue on which we have complete national unity.

Hungary: Distant Prospects of EU Membership Examined

AU2203101996 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Mar 96 p 7

[FBIS Translated Text] The peoples and governments of east-central Europe are still deceiving themselves with the belief that Europe is close and that it will only take a few more years to achieve full EU membership. Such promises were indeed voiced in the West at the beginning of the nineties and the various governments eagerly believed them. These promises were unfounded at that time too, although such a political decision could have been imaginable in the heat of the change in the regime. However, this fervor is now over, and the change in the regimes of Eastern European states has become a boring fact in the West. The West has turned inward, and the joining of east-central Europe has been increasingly delayed, instead of coming increasingly closer. Europe is far away, becoming ever more distant.

The fact that, semiofficially, they schedule the joining of the most developed Central European countries for the middle of the next decade at the earliest is nothing new in the Western position; what is new is that the whole issue has lost importance for the West. According to Western political analysts, the reaction to the collapse of the Eastern block has already taken place, and the region outside the former Soviet Union has more or less stabilized. In the current situation, the European Union is not ready for further members; nor have the candidates become ripe for full membership. Let us clear any misunderstanding: EU member states indeed decided in Copenhagen in June 1993 that they should start expansion toward the East; at the same time, they placed the entire issue on a decade-long halt.

Not a single Western politician or EU official will ever formulate this clearly. All the more so, because his answer will be professional, as the rejection of early membership is simply a procedural matter. Nothing bad happened with east-central Europe in the EU; they simply were not willing to treat it as a special political issue and make genuine political decisions. Thus, the issue of new membership got stuck on the overcrowded EU institutional schedule for years, a schedule that begins with the intergovernmental conference at the end of March this year. They will deal with new membership issues six months after this conference, namely with the case of Cyprus and Malta, two countries waiting in line ahead of the Central European countries. Thus, negotiations can start sometime at the end of this decade at the earliest and, given the fact that these negotiations can last for years, the earliest time we can become EU members is the middle of the next decade, or rather the end of the next decade.

There is nothing extraordinary in this new Western thinking; it is only soberly oriented toward the status quo, and it does not overburden itself with visions of Europe of the future. From the West, the new democracies seem weaker economically and more divided politically than they really are so, overburdened with numerous domestic and international problems, the politicians put the membership issue aside with a clear conscience. Besides, viewed from afar, the six "Eastern" associate members, from the Czech Lands to Bulgaria, seem to have a similar level of development and, therefore, according to the current position, the EU will start negotiations simultaneously with these six countries as well as the three Baltic states, but they will be accepted in the EU according to their level of development. Therefore, full EU membership is a story for the next century for Hungary too.

The EU itself is in a serious crisis in at least three areas. First, politically, because its decisionmaking mechanism did not work properly even with 12 members, and it is now of a rather low efficiency with 15 members. The upcoming intergovernmental conference will deal with the reform of this mechanism and with switching to a majority decision. Second, all the EU members have their own internal economic crisis, one deriving from the limitations of a welfare state. A "gentlemen's populism" emerges in such cases in the statements of deputy ladies and gentlemen, like not a cent abroad "of the taxpayers'

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money." Thus, stories have been circulating in the West lately on how expensive the Eastern expansion would be, and these inflated figures often serve as merely a deterrent. Then, the issue of the EU's internal balance of power in the wake of the German reunification is still unsolved. The Latin countries are seeking a new balance and, therefore, they do not oppose Eastern expansion directly; instead, they only set the condition to deal with the Eastern countries only after the cases of Cyprus and Malta. And Cyprus and Malta are such complex issues that they could provide a procedural reason in themselves for delaying the start of negotiations with the Central European countries for further years.

No Central European politician will declare that Europe is far. They are also bound by promises, national prestige, election cycles, and a lot of other factors, including perhaps the fact that, because they are constantly dealing with negotiations and different interim timetables, most of them really believe in early membership. However, the public keyed up by their governments begins to show signs of "Europe-fatigue," and support for EU membership is slowly dwindling in the most developed Central European countries, and our bad mood regarding Europe is increasing. However, we must prepare for a long march and for the possibility that, once the gates open at long last, public support might not even exist and people will have to be convinced that it is worth joining the EU.

To be honest, we are indeed not prepared for early membership; nor is the Czech Republic, a country that is conducting an aggressive campaign of self-praise. But the real question emerges in a different way, namely this process could be greatly accelerated by 1 percent of the EU budget, if there were such a political decision. There was such a political will in the case of Southern Europe, and there is no such political will today regarding Central Europe. Things are going well and there is no longer an extraordinary world situation; therefore, there is no genuine help either. Everyone for himself, and God for everyone—this is the tired message for Central Europe that comes from the West at the end of the 20th century. Europe is a long way off, but we have no choice but to continue on this long and bitter road.

Hungary: Budapest To Join Agreement on Curbing Terrorism

LD2103203796 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Hungary will join the European agreement on curbing terrorism. The government has authorized the foreign minister to sign the agreement subject to approval by the Hungarian National Assembly. [passage omitted]

Hungary: Parliamentary Body Discusses Ties to Romania

AU2103174696 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Mar 96 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Eorsi on the Basic Treaty"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian-Romanian relations have come out of the trap of the basic treaty, because progress has been made in several other areas, for example in the areas of economic and military cooperation. Matyas Eorsi, Alliance of Free Democrats member chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee, said this to NEPSZAVA after the committee had heard the government's report on the current state of the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty.

Foreign Ministry Political State Secretary Ivan Szent-Ivanyi gave the government's report. The report revealed that the basic treaty is not a goal in itself, the Hungarian Government's further goal being to settle bilateral relations. "We are not giving up; our goal is to have a well-functioning basic treaty, and no deadlines or other constraints exist," Szent-Ivanyi told NEPSZAVA after the closed session. Eorsi indicated that they had already managed to agree on 90 percent of the basic treaty, although it is precisely the remaining 10 percent on which the Romanian side does not show any willingness for compromise.

Hungary: Economic 'Euroregion' To Be Restored

96CH0073C Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 1 Mar 96 p 4

[Article by Halasz: "The Danube-Tisza Euroregion, an Interrupted Tradition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The leaders of Yugoslavia's Vajdasag [Vojvodina], Romania's Arad and Temes [Timis] Counties, and Hungary's four southeastern counties—Csongrad, Bekes, Bacs-Kiskun and Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok—have agreed to establish also institutionally the Danube-Tisza-Maros [Mures] Euroregion. They approved a joint memorandum which emphasizes that they will elaborate and sign by 31 March a declaration outlining in detail how the Euroregion will function.*

The Alfold counties' mutual relations functioned well for decades and have been suspended only during the war on the territory of former Yugoslavia. Joint work among the universities in Szeged, Ujvidek [Novy Sad] and Temesvar [Timisoara], and cross-border trade in the Romanian, Yugoslav, and Hungarian border zones have longstanding traditions. An economic upsurge in Southeastern Europe will depend, among other things,

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on the rate at which the transport and communications infrastructure is developed. Earlier important rail links have been broken off. For instance, between Szeged and Temesvar, as well as between Bekescsaba, Szeged, Szabadka [Subotica], Bacsalmas, and Pecs. These links will be restored within a short time. Navigation on the Maros and the Tisza has declined, and it is hoped that its revival will result in linking specifically on Yugoslav territory the historical shipping routes on the Danube and the Tisza. Economic experts are becoming increasingly aware of the shortcomings of railroad transportation in the area. It is no accident that specifically the executives of the Kikinda railroad directorate, bearing in mind the interests of the Vajadasag's Banat settlements, were the ones to propose recently the restoration of the Szeged-Kikinda-Temesvar rail link's missing section.

The Euroregion's establishment will facilitate the opening of new border crossings and better utilization of the existing ones. The upsurge of cross-border trade forced the construction of the Mehkerek-Nagyszalonta [Salonta] crossing and the reactivation of the Tiszasziget and Bacsalmas railroad stations. The construction of a new border crossing between Kiszombor [Maly Sombor] and Csanad will also begin soon.

Hungary: Police Actions Against Demonstrators Criticized

AU2203093996 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 21 Mar 96 p 5

[Article by "moricz" and "varju": "Demonstration Also at the Cathedral After 15 March—The MIEP and the National Alliance Protest"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The National Alliance for Hungary Association expects the president of the republic to take a stance against the deployment of the police for political aims and to arouse fear. They can mainly see a reason for this because of the punishment of the people who, at the 15 March official commemoration held up banners comparing the government to the Pol Pot regime. In addition to taking away the banners from the two young people, the police also got them down on the ground and tore their clothes because they had the inscription "communist-free zone" on them. Hungarian Democratic Forum deputy Peter Balaton, who had been present at the event, said this at a news conference. Representatives of the National Alliance believe that, having no legal means to do so, the political forces that are trying to prevent the opposition parties from becoming more popular are using the police for their purposes. In their view, the court would not have fined the two young people.

Miklos Hasznos, the presiding chairman, decribed as ridiculous the police spokesman's press statement in which he said that video films on the events of the Independent Smallholders Party and other opposition parties had been made to capture pickpockets and those breaking into cars. As Hasznos added, cars had been banned from the locations of the events and, on the pictures made by cameras fastened to trees, it is impossible to see if someone is putting a hand in someone else's pocket. [passage omitted]

Istvan Csurka, chairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party [MIEP], is accusing the Hungarian government of trying to reinstate censorship. Csurka claims that the large number of commandos and policemen sent to the 15 March demonstrations, and making the threat of identifying the demonstrators and people carrying banners with "unacceptable inscriptions" with the help of video footage, and of reprisal by the authorities, fit into the process whose unsaid goal is to silence the masses who are dissatisfied with their situation. Csurka pointed out to journalists that the government politicians who have manifestly distanced themselves from the Smallholders' demonstration on 14 March and have been continuously condemning it since then in the press, noticeably want to gain control over who can speak in this country, when, and in what form they can do so. [passage omitted]

Hungary: MSZP Deputies Publish 'March Statement'

AU2203092396 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 21 Mar 96 p 4

[Unattributed report: "MSZP Correction Ideas"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A correction must be implemented in the government's work, which will provide a more effective guarantee in coordinating the economic processes—this, among other things, is contained in a 10-page document called the "March Statement," which was prepared by a group of Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] deputies before the party's congress; we have learned that 35 people have signed it so far.

Based on the statement endorsed by Sandor Nagy, the signatories did not create a party program or a platform statement. However, they state, among other things, that "we uphold the changeover that was started in 1989-90 and confirmed by the 1994 change of government, with all its political and economic consequences. We consider it irreversible, and we hope precisely that it will be further stabilized as a result of the stronger assertion of social and cultural values."

The signatories of the statement say: The examples of several European nations have shown that, through en-

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suring social fairness and cultural self-identity, advancement is possible within a short time.

According to the signatories, the stabilization policy must be continued, but more attention must be paid to the expected social impact of decisions. They consider the changing of welfare systems and the consistent implementation of the reform of the state administration to be the biggest challenges. In their view, the solution of the economy's problems calls for an anti-inflation policy. The introduction of a general declaration of assets, reduction of taxes and rates, and making the procedural rules stricter are necessary conditions for successfully counteracting the illegal economy. In their view, welfare rights must be guaranteed for all and differences in income levels must be reduced.

[Box, p 4]

Many of the so-called Hajos Socialists visited Imre Szekeres, parliamentary group leader of the MSZP, and informed him that, contrary to reports, the group had not accepted any kind of statement. Szekeres said this at a news conference in Nyiregyhaza [eastern Hungary] on 20 March. Szekeres said that he had not had the time or chance to find out who had decided that the MSZP's congress should reexamine the coalition agreement, in whose name the statement had been made, and who had published it. In his view, these matters have to be clarified to be able to assess the events. Sandor Nagy told our correspondent that the previously published material which proposed the renegotiation of the coalition agreement had indeed been one of the individual drafts. In his view, it should not have been issued or published as a Hajos document.

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B-H: NATO Tells Muratovic of Possible Mandate Extension

AU2103155596 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 96 p 4

[Article by M.D.: "NATO Is Staying in Bosnia-Herzegovina?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hasan Muratovic, prime minister of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, led the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government delegation at the meeting with a delegation of NATO's Council. Muratovic stressed the crucial importance of NATO's deployment in establishing peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the implementation of the military part of the agreement. Our delegation informed the NATO representatives about the implementation of the agreement so far, putting emphasis on the issue of demobilization and the postwar development of the armed forces, for which a far greater support from NATO countries is needed than is being currently received.

The NATO representatives said that one of the main aims of their mission was to prepare a report for the meeting of representatives from the parliaments of NATO countries to be held next week in Ottawa. The NATO representatives also told Prime Minister Muratovic that the extension of the NATO mission in Bosnia-Herzegovina beyond the one-year mandate was already under consideration.

B-H: Koschnick Urges Extending NATO Mandate 3 Years

AU2103195496 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1800 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Hans Koschnick, the outgoing EU administrator of Mostar, has called for the mandate of the NATO peace force in Bosnia to be extended by three years. Speaking to BERLINER MORGENPOST, Koschnick said that about a third of the 60,000 IFOR [Implementation Force] troops would be needed to prevent a renewed outbreak of fighting.

B-H: German Ministry: No Plans To Extend IFOR Mandate

LD2203122096 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1119 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bonn (DDP/ADN)—The German Defense Ministry is planning no extension of the IFOR [Implementation Force] peace force mission in Bosnia. A Defense Ministry spokesman said in Bonn today the operation had been limited to 12 months by resolutions adopted by NATO and the Bundestag. What was now important was that the process of returning to normal political life in Bosnia could get under way.

The spokesman was reacting to comments by the outgoing EU administrator for Mostar, Hans Koschnick, who earlier called for a three-year extension of the IFOR mandate. He said at least a third of the peace force's manpower was needed to stop the conflict from reigniting. He said the three conflicting parties' senior officers were well aware of IFOR's firepower, and this deterrent force would still be required after 1996.

B-H: Federation, Republic Leaders View Geneva Results

AU2103183496 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 96 p 4

[Article by B.V.: "Agreement on Release of 300 Zepa Men"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Geneva, 20 March—Ejup Ganic, chief of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation at the talks in Geneva, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and vice president of the Federation, said that the meeting was useful but did not bring much new, adding that he was looking forward to the results of greater U.S. involvement.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Hasan Muratovic said that some of the earlier agreements had been worked out in greater detail in bilateral talks with the Croatian side, while with the Serb side the same issues that had been covered many times before were again discussed, but without any results. Prime Minister Muratovic stressed that an agreement was reached on the release of 300 Zepa men currently in Serbia.

Federation Prime Minister Izudin Kapetanovic said that he thought it a success that sanctions would be imposed for the nonimplementation of the agreements against areas and persons responsible at all levels of the Federation.

Kasim Trnka, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation's expert team and Bosnia-Herzegovina ambassador in Croatia, said:

"It was said explicitly that the international community would give economic assistance only through the Federation institutions. Another thing on which the international community will insist is that all those who do not meet their obligations be removed from their functions."

Miro Lazovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly chairman and member of the delegation, assessed the results of the Geneva talks with the following words:

"We are not satisfied that this paper only mentions Sarajevo as the key place for the return of refugees,

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giving a six month deadline for all who left Sarajevo to return. We insisted that the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina be treated equally and that the same deadline should apply everywhere."

B-H: Commentary Considers U.S. Intentions at Geneva Talks

AU2103173896 Hanau NOVA BOSNA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 96 p 2

[Commentary by E. Sadikovic: "Arguments"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Geneva meeting between the representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Croatia held under U.S. auspices ended with the usual generalized statement. The well-known phrases about the implementation of the Dayton agreement were repeated. U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher said that they discussed freedom of movement, the return of the refugees, cooperation with the Hague tribunal, the establishment of a unified customs system on the territory of the Federation, and the creation of the conditions for the elections. These are the provisions from the Dayton agreement that have not been implemented so far to any degree whatsoever. So far only the military part of the agreement has been implemented, while the "civilian package" has not even been unpacked. Hence, one should view Geneva as a blitz-gathering initiated by Washington in order "to wag a finger at the disobedient" and make them implement the agreement in full. The entire meeting was held behind closed doors, so it is impossible to know what "arguments" the White House used this time as persuasion with "all the sides." The only leak that got out to the public was that the Implementation Force had received new instructions and orders. There were no details concerning the new tasks, but one can assume that the multinational force has been given a free hand to establish full freedom of movement. It remains to be seen whether this implies enabling everyone to return to their homes. According to some U.S. sources, Belgrade was told that it could again face economic sanctions if it does not cooperate with the Hague tribunal, and Zagreb was told that no new credits would be forthcoming "if it does not cooperate." To what extent the U.S. demands will be met is yet to be seen. The next round of talks will be held in Moscow.

B-H: Sarajevo Radio Carries Details of Geneva Statement

AU1903214096 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A statement on the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina was adopted at the meeting in Geneva, apart from the document in 10 points named Agreed Measures.

Nedzad Leko reports on the contents of the statement:

[Begin Leko recording] The statement first stresses that the president, vice president, and prime minister of the Federation agree to completely meet the commitments undertaken at last month's meeting in Rome. The statement details the basic tasks in 10 points.

It was agreed that more work needed to be done on the organization of the city of Sarajevo, and that the EU High Representative's office should help in that process. Support was again given to the EU Administrator in Mostar, and to early elections in this city. The statement also says that the assembly of the Neretva canton should again meet and constitute the canton by 28 March, while the central Bosnian canton should be constituted by 31 March. Transitional municipal assemblies of the cantons should also be constituted by these deadlines, where this has not already been done.

The statement expresses readiness for the implementation of the Zagreb agreement on proportional representation in the Bosnia-Herzegovina diplomatic network. It also stresses determination to improve security and open roads in the Federation. Agreement was reached to remove from positions all those that are obstructing the implementation of the Federation, both at the municipal and at the cantonal and Federation levels.

The statement stresses that the existing civilian authorities and their bodies in the parts of the Federation controlled by the Croatian Defense Council have to transfer all their functions to the bodies of the Federation and be disbanded. This is connected to financial assistance from the international community, which will be allotted to the Federation only when the cantons and the municipalities are constituted, and when they start to function properly. Because of that, the statement says, the Federation government will be adequately represented in talks and negotiations that relate to the international assistance in reconstruction.

The statement envisages that the Federation assembly session will adopt legal measures that refer to the cantons, including the organization of Sarajevo, and amendments to the Constitution of the Federation to bring it into accord with the Constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which refer to defense structures, as well as the Federation coat of arms and flag.

The statement says at the end that the top Federation officials would meet regularly with the EU High Representative or his deputy in order to implement the decisions contained in the agreement on the Federation, as well as in this statement. A special conference will

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be held in Bonn on 28 March to discuss the implementation of these decisions. The new Federation flag and coat of arms should be revealed at this conference. [end recording]

B-H: Subcommission for Demarcation: Still No Agreement

AU2103191996 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 16 Mar 96 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Border With 446 Disputed Points"]

[FBIS Translated Text] NATO officials who are responsible for mediation in the work of the subcommission for demarcation between the entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina are deeply disappointed because the parties in Bosnia cannot achieve a final agreement on the border between the Serbian Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

There are a total of 446 disputed areas between the two entities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and, despite the fact that the process of demarcation should be finished by 19 March, no agreement has been reached about any of the disputed territories since the beginning of talks at the end of January.

The Dayton Peace Agreement ended the 43-month war in Bosnia, and actually divided the country into two entities of approximately the same size.

The separation line between the two entities, the Serbian Republic and the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, was copied to 51 maps, in the ratio 1:50,000, with inaccuracies which do not exceed 50 meters.

Foreseeing that there would be a need for fine corrections, the peace agreement allowed the parties to correct the border lines in bilateral talks, including consultations with IFOR [Implementation Force].

The Dayton agreement also allows IFOR to move the border 50 meters to one or to the other side.

Until now, 10 formal meetings of the subcommission for demarcation have taken place, but they have not led to any concrete results.

According to the statements of the participants in the talks, the representatives of the Federation prefer individual solutions of local border disputes, whereas the Serb side demands that all issues be solved in a parcel, insisting that nothing can be solved until everything is solved.

"If no agreement on the details of demarcation is achieved at the meetings, NATO will continue to mark the border according to their own estimate, along with consultations with the local population and the owners of the land and the objects," said Lieutenant Colonel Nick Rigby, main topographer in the land force of IFOR in Bosnia.

B-H: Meeting To Settle Boundary Line Dispute Begins

AU2103152196 Paris AFP in English 1507 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, March 21 (AFP)—Bosnian Government and Serb officials began a crucial meeting Thursday [21 March] to try and resolve a host of boundary line disputes between the two sides, NATO officials said.

Aided by experts from NATO's peace Implementation Force (IFOR) the two sides are meeting after a series of negotiations to agree on a list of changes to the so-called Inter Entity Boundary Line (IEBL).

At stake Thursday is agreement on how Dobrinja, a Sarajevo suburb, will be finally shared between the former foes. Reaching a solution to this issue which is causing tensions in the area, has been linked by the Serbs to all the other changes under discussion.

The 1,000 kilometre (600 mile) long IEBL was drawn up during last year's peace negotiations. It defines the limits of the two political blocks that make up post-war Bosnia, the Moslem-Croat Federation and the Bosnian Serb Republic.

Unhappy with the how some sections of the line translates on the ground, all sides have met several times to straighten out individual problems and negotiate a number of changes.

This can include swaps of territory or shifting the line several meters (yards) to avoid dividing buildings or separating churches from graveyards.

An IFOR spokesman, Major Tom Moyer, said the meeting could last several hours. "If they make a lot of progress they are going to keep going but if it's felt that the discussion isn't going anywhere, it will end pretty quickly," Moyer said.

Though this is the last scheduled such meeting, Thursday's negotiations are not the final opportunity to settle the issue. Subsequent changes can be made to the IEBL through direct negotiations between the two sides, Moyer said.

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B-H: Council of Europe's Role in Reintegration Discussed

AU2103201596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Miro Lazovic, chairman of the republican Bosnia-Herzegovina Assembly, received a Council of Europe [CE] delegation headed by Secretary General Daniel Tarschys, the office of the assembly chairman announced.

Chairman Lazovic informed Tarschys about the comprehensive political situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The talks focused on the implementation of the Bosnian peace agreement, future elections, and cooperation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and the CE. Daniel Tarschys informed Chairman Lazovic that the CE's priority would be the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina on a multiethnic basis. He agreed with Chairman Lazovic that the return of refugees was a key issue for the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Tarschys said that the CE parliament would discuss this at its April session. He informed Lazovic about the deployment of CE monitoring teams in Bosnia-Herzegovina, scheduled for mid-April, which will be comprised of experts from various fields. This will initiate the process of admitting Bosnia as a full CE member.

B-H: Outcome of Sarajevo Reconstruction Conference Viewed

AU2103140496 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE (European edition) in Serbo-Croatian 20 Mar 96 p 6

[Article by D. Simic: "They Are Slow To Loosen the Purse Strings"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Sarajevo conference of potential donors for the reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina, announced as an informative conference, was yet another opportunity to hear the well-known views of the representatives of the international community on their readiness to support reconstruction.

The question that was again left without a precise answer was how many dollars this readiness implied.

The representatives of the World Bank, who are in charge of coordinating funds for the reconstruction, stated that out of the $1.8 billion planned for this year, they still need to raise $1.2 billion. If one knows that $600 million had been promised at the last conference back in December, then it is clear that the realization of the promises made by the rich countries will not be easy.

Key Preconditions

It is certain that one of the reasons for the delay in the arrival of the promised funds is also the bureaucratic procedure associated with the distribution of money, although the real reasons, no doubt, lie somewhere else.

The key precondition that must be met to start receiving aid is the functioning of the Federation as has been written and agreed in many agreements. The representatives of Bosnia-Herzegovina were clearly told that the vital parts of the Federation—the customs and taxation systems and the unified payments and banking systems—must start to function by the next donors' conference scheduled for mid-April in Brussels.

The United States, which has been one of the main sponsors of the peace agreement—whose integral part is the project of reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina—plans to realize its part in reconstruction with $600 million spread over the next three years. Of this money, $200 million has been earmarked for this year. However, not even the initial $200 million is quite certain owing to the quarreling between the Clinton Administration and Congress, which is supposed to approve the funds.

Islamic countries have again expressed their readiness to take part in the reconstruction, but the majority prefers to realize this aid through bilateral agreements rather than through a "package" with other donors. Again, no specific sum was mentioned.

First Aid

Judging by everything, the bulk of the money will be provided by Japan, the EU, and Islamic countries. The fact is that only Japan and Macedonia have come with specific figures of economic aid at the Sarajevo conference. Japan has provided $25 million as urgent aid and Macedonia $100,000. This clearly shows that the rest of the donors are still calculating how much aid to donate.

Bosnia-Herzegovina does not have time to wait, as the situation is more than critical. With the 700,000 unemployed and the economy working with only a fraction of its capacity, this country does not need verbal support, understanding, and promises. There was no lack of promises at this conference, as was the case at the previous one.

It remains to be seen from the donors' response in Brussels how convincing the members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina delegation were, and how good the programs prepared by the government ministries and presented to the conference were.

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Until then, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government is expected to create a legal framework for the privatization of the economy and to put the Federation on its feet. We will quickly find out whether the homework was done in time. April is not far.

B-H: Capljina Refugees Visit Graveyards Escorted by IFOR

AU2103203896 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 96

[Report by Mirsad Behran from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Some 350 refugees from Capljina today visited the graveyards in the municipality. The refugees, traveling in three buses, were again escorted—just like several days ago—by Implementation Force [IFOR] vehicles. [passage omitted]

As we have already said, the expelled Capljina citizens visited the graveyards escorted by IFOR forces, which in itself speaks for the fact that there is still no real freedom of movement in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, despite all the agreements signed up to this point.

B-H: Iranian Ambassador Condemns Western 'Double Standards'

AU2203083096 Sarajevo DNEVNI AVAZ in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 96 p 5

[Interview with Iranian Ambassador to Bosnia-Herzegovina Mohammad Ebrahim Taherian by Hilmo Mujic; place and date not given: "We Have Never Placed Conditions on Our Help"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The cooperation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Iran, the arrest of Iranian nationals in Bosnia-Herzegovina, world terrorism, and the "Summit of Peacemakers" were the main topics of conversation with Mohammad Ebrahim Taherian, the ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Taherian] Bismillahi-r-Rahmani-r-Rahim. [as published] With the help of God, and with your kindness, we have over the past few years been able to carry out our task of providing help to the nation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Mujic] Was it easy?

[Taherian] Even our fighters have fallen on this difficult path. Their blood is a gift to the fight of the Bosnia-Herzegovina nation in achieving their goals.

[Mujic] What is it like now?

[Taherian] Even today we are faced with problems. However, we are competent and can solve them. The arrest of our Ucaca Illahi I Kasida group, who came to Bosnia-Herzegovina at the request of the Islamic community, was a special problem. This group was detained in Jajce for over six days, in violation of all laws and regulations.

Victims of Terrorism

[Mujic] How did you solve this problem?

[Taherian] We contacted Bosnia-Herzegovina, IFOR [Implementation Force], and Croatian officials on a number of occasions. The problem was eventually solved. However, the entire problem has had a negative effect on the Iranian people. Even the international bodies did not do their duty on this occasion.

[Mujic] How safe is it to travel through Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Taherian] People in Bosnia-Herzegovina still do not have full freedom of movement. We, too, have trouble moving freely, as probably do other foreigners in this country. However, all this will pass. In the recent period we have been here to provide help and, God willing, we will continue to do so.

[Mujic] Is the West trying to portray your help to Bosnia-Herzegovina as an attempt to import Iranian policies and indoctrinate the Bosnia-Herzegovina people?

[Taherian] There is a verse in the Mesnevia that reads: Everyone who is of my opinion is my friend. What you have just asked me is probably the way the West and America think of us. We have never placed conditions on our help to these people. Bosnia-Herzegovina is otherwise an independent country and we respect that. The same should be expected from other countries.

[Mujic] What about world terrorism?

[Taherian] We are the greatest victims of terrorism in the world. Our president, prime minister, deputies in parliament, ministers, and our prayer imams have also become fallen fighters, victims of assassinations. There have even been assassination attempts on our current leader Khamenei and President Hashemi Rafsanjani.

[Mujic] What is Iran's relationship toward terrorism?

[Taherian] We condemn all kinds of terrorism and the killing of innocent people. Our religion demands this from us. Even this genocide in Bosnia, in the heart of Europe, in the 20th century, represents terrorism. Thus, we can say that both you and we have been victims of terrorists.

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Eradication of Evil

[Taherian continues] In a meeting with representatives of the world press not long ago, our president stated that Iran is also a victim of terrorism and pointed out that we are prepared to eradicate this evil.

[Mujic] There is also a conference on the fight against terrorism, named the "Summit of Peacemakers," being held in Egypt, is there not?

[Taherian] We definitely have to talk about terrorism at this meeting. However the tragedy of Bosnia-Herzegovina has to be on the agenda of this summit. Westerners should put aside their double standards when talking about terrorism and the fight against terrorism.

Wherever there are terrorists, we have to resist them and arrest them. On this question, Iran is prepared to accept any reasonable dialogue, as long as it is not just used for propaganda purposes.

[Mujic] What do you think of the implementation of the Dayton agreement so far?

[Taherian] We accept this agreement because it supports the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is our wish that it is implemented completely and precisely. We are doing everything that we can on this matter. We have stood by this nation through the difficult years, at their request, and we will continue to do so in the future, in order to restore the country and its economic prosperity.

[Mujic] What is your message to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Taherian] With the potential that the country has in terms of its culture, confidence, and history, I am certain that Bosnia-Herzegovina has a bright future. You must continue with the country's reconstruction, just as you confronted the fierce aggression bravely and with your heads held high. Your own strength and the opportunities that exist in this country should be the main base for further work and life. In that way we will all, God willing, be witnesses of the successful restoration and prosperity of the friendly Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mohammad Ebrahim Taherian said.

B-H: IFOR Raids 4th Corps Barracks, Seeks Mujahidin

AU2103203996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 96

[Report by Halil Sefka from Konjic]

[FBIS Translated Text] The event that took place this morning at around 0600 [0500 GMT] in Radesina near Konjic caused anxiety among the population of Konjic, Jablanica, and the entire Neretva River valley. Namely, according to the statement released by the B-H Army 4th Corps Command, Implementation Force [IFOR] troops surrounded the barracks of the 4th Corps 4th Muslim Brigade with seven vehicles, including armored personnel carriers and a self-propelled 95-mm gun. After surrounding the barracks, the IFOR troops and officers took action, which the 4th Corps Command described as barbarous. Among other things, without any prior warning, they stormed the bedrooms of the 4th Corps female cooks, and forced the padlocks on several buildings. The statement further states that IFOR troops photographed all the members of the 4th Muslim Brigade and forced them to write down their personal details. The French IFOR troops physically maltreated a 4th Muslim Brigade troop simply because the paper with his personal details was illegible.

We were told by the 4th Corps Command that IFOR representatives called this operation control, because the barracks was supposedly not registered. However, the 4th Corps Command claims in its statement that, according to the Dayton agreement, they are obliged to report only the barracks situated within the 10-km demarcation zones, while the 4th Muslim Brigade is well removed from the zone. The statement further states that IFOR troops carried out this raid under the assumption that the barracks housed troops from Islamic countries, and that is completely inaccurate. IFOR troops today had the chance to see this for themselves. The corps command also stressed that the military formation has implemented all the provisions of the Dayton agreement and that this type of behavior was unacceptable.

Finally, let me add that the 4th Muslim Brigade's barracks was surrounded until 1730, when IFOR troops left Radesina.

B-H: IFOR Confirms Raid on Mujahidin Camp

AU2103190296 Paris AFP in English 1835 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, March 21 (AFP)—NATO swooped on a suspected "Mujahedeen" camp in southern Bosnia Thursday, mounting a similar operation to one last month that netted several Iranians, alliance officials said.

"We have carried out an investigation and it was inconclusive," a spokesman for the NATO-led Implementation Force (IFOR), Captain Jacques Fauteux, said.

The spokesman said the operation was carried out 35 kilometers (22 miles) north of Mostar, southern Bosnia. Ten people were discovered in a house but Fauteux declined to give further details.

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Another source said weapons were discovered at the location but it was "nothing alarming." The operation took place Thursday morning.

NATO raided a Bosnian government "terrorist" training camp in Fojnica, just west of Sarajevo, in February. Three Iranians and nine Bosnian government personnel were detained in the swoop.

Alliance forces discovered a cache of weapons, bomb-making devices hidden in children's toys and training manuals written in Farsi. Mock-ups of at least one NATO base were also discovered. At the time, NATO's commander in Bosnia, Admiral Leighton Smith, called the camp an "abomination."

B-H: Croats See Zenica as Center of Islamic Fundamentalism

LD2003213696 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 20 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Instead of remaining a multi-ethnic town, Zenica is gradually turning into an Islamic center. Zvonimir Cilic reports on an event that confirms this statement.

[Cilic] The Croats of Zenica have reacted with anger to a decision by the relevant municipal commission to award the town's highest token of recognition, the Town of Zenica Arms, to, among others, the 7th Muslim Brigade of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This decision has prompted the Vitez-based coordination committee of the Croat refugees of Zenica to write an open letter.

This move is not unusual for the authorities in Zenica, a town that has for some time now been the center of Islamic fundamentalism. The main reason for this policy is the presence of mujahidin and extremists in the 7th Muslim Brigade. The letter goes on to say that the Croats of Zenica had no choice but to react to this inexplicable decision by withdrawing their representative from the aforementioned commission and by withdrawing their proposal to award the same recognition to Father Stipan Radic, priest of St. Elijah parish church.

How is it possible, the Croats of Zenica ask, that a person who has devoted his entire life to preaching religion, love, and religious and national tolerance, and to caring for the frail, the sick, and the humiliated is put in the same category as a unit whose main task has been to safeguard the political ideology of the most reactionary fundamentalist circles? How can we agree with the decision to give this high award to a brigade which has played the most important role in ethnic cleansing in Zenica and which is seen, not just by the Croats of central Bosnia, as the most extreme brigade in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army?

In conclusion the letter says that the non-Muslims of Zenica are rightly asking themselves if this move is an indication of the likely democratic processes that are expected to lead to the integration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to the implementation of the federation, and to coexistence as advocated by Zenica democrats.

B-H: Croats 'Systematically Torching' Villages Near Jajce

LD2103161296 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1221 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, March 21 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Croats are systematically torching villages in the region of the central Bosnian town of Jajce, which were populated predominantly by Muslims, in order to prevent them from returning, Muslim-controlled Radio Sarajevo reported early on Thursday.

Under the Nov. 2, 1995 agreement between Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, 200 Muslim families should have returned to the region of Jajce in the first phase.

According to the radio's earlier reports, Croat "occupational" authorities allowed the return of just 30 out of the 17,000 Muslims who lived in the region before the war.

During the Bosnian civil war, Jajce was in the (Bosnian Serb state) Republika Srpska. Under the Dayton peace agreement, the region was handed over to the Muslim-Croat Federation.

According to Croatian radio, about 12,000 Croats have returned to Jajce.

Bosnian Muslims and Croats fought pitched battles in and carried out ethnic cleansing of central and southern Bosnia-Herzegovina for a year before agreeing to form a joint federation in March 1994.

B-H: Herzeg-Bosna Official on Trade With Croatia

96BA0194A Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 96 pp 24-25

[Interview with Jago Lasic, president of the Economic Chamber of the Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosna, by Ivica Rados in Citluk; date not given: "Herzeg-Bosna Is Smoking Up $30 Million"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Bosnia-Herzegovina is the fourth largest buyer of goods in foreign trade with the*

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RH [Republic of Croatia], while it is not even among the top 30 countries in terms of exports to the RH.

The Economic Chamber of the HR Herzeg-Bosna [Croatian Republic of Herzeg-Bosna] is one of the institutions that has only just begun to "stand on its own two feet," but after the two wars its fate is uncertain, especially since with one stroke of the pen by the Presidency of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Herzeg-Bosna has been wiped from the map as a political entity. In economic terms, however, part of the Croat political corpus—especially the opposition—often regards Herzeg-Bosna as a land where illegal business and deals of the century are transacted. All of this has culminated in the recent verbal scuffles and condemnations of business people there by Pankretic of the HSS [Croatian Peasants Party]. Jago Lasic, the top official with the Economic Chamber, responds to the charges and refuses to give up. The interview took place in the administrative building of "Froteja" at Bare No. 2 in Citluk, which is also where the Chamber's offices are located, and when we arrived we found Mr. Lasic writing a sharp protest to the RH Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which he intended to send to Cira Grubisic, the RH consul in Mostar.

[Rados] What do you say to the increasingly frequent attacks and criticism in the Croatian Assembly regarding the Herzeg-Bosna economy?

[Lasic] We want to talk only about the factual situation, because we are the institution that issues all certificates of origin for goods exported from the territory of Herzeg-Bosna to the Republic of Croatia, while the Ministry of Trade issues certificates for third countries.... According to our records, which match those of the RH Economic Chamber, our total exports to the RH over the past 11 months do not place us in the top 30 countries, and total less than $15 million. The total exports of the entire Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which includes Herzeg-Bosna, are somewhere around $10 million. On the other hand, we are the number four foreign trading partner in terms of goods purchased from the RH. Over the past 11 months we have bought goods from Croatia valued at $353 million.

[Rados] What countries are bigger partners to Croatia in that regard?

[Lasic] Number one is Italy, number two is Germany, number three is Slovenia, we are number four, Austria is fifth.... Thus, Bosnia-Herzegovina is the fourth largest buyer of goods in foreign trade with the RH, while it is not even among the top 30 countries in terms of exports to the RH. The ratio of imports to exports in trade with Croatia is 27 to 1. Thus, to simplify, we spend 27 kunas in Croatia but earn only one.

[Rados] What Croatian firms export the most to Herzeg-Bosna?

[Lasic] I have here a list of the biggest Croatian exporters to our territory. Aside from tobacco factories and INA [Petroleum Refining and Sales Enterprise], they include a group of eight firms that export food and drink to Herzeg-Bosna: "Zvecevo," "Franck," "Karlovacka pivovara...." PIK Vrbovec, which exports and imports meat, has imports equivalent to our entire exports to Croatia. There is also "Vindija" in Varazdin, "Badel" in Zagreb, and others. I am really amazed at the unsubstantiated claims being made in the Croatian Assembly. I am going to send an official protest to the Croatian consul in Mostar. There are a number of opposition representatives in the Croatian Assembly who are behind the accusations leveled against Herzeg-Bosna. Tomcic did so six months ago, and now it is Pankretic, who is acting like a cowboy. What would happen if our representatives from the diaspora began to act that way? It is interesting that both of them are from the HSS. Look, we are a country that cooperates with the RH in terms of reporting goods that originate in Herzeg-Bosna for customs purposes, and vice versa. We are potential markets for each other, but both of us are such small markets that we must do it this way if we want to monitor the entry of outside goods into the territory where we are strong as a national corpus.

[Rados] The Lijanovici "affair" has agitated the political and economic waters. What is your view of that?

[Lasic] Lijanovici is the strongest manufacturer in Herzeg-Bosna, and there is also no one stronger in the RH after PIK Vrbovec. It is precisely Lijanovici that buys the most in Croatia, while the other thing is that we must transport goods from Hungary or Slovakia through Croatia. We cannot do that by air or any other way. From our perspective, all goods that are improved more than 30 percent are regarded as domestic goods. In the RH, goods that are improved 50 percent are regarded as domestic goods. We too respect that arrangement. Thus far, there has not been a single report or doubt about our certificates from any Croatian authority. If we were not acting as we should, the customs and inspection services would have had at least one report of disagreement with our certificates by now....

[Rados] Supposedly the problem is that they are monopolistic enterprises?

[Lasic] There are many monopolistic enterprises in the territory of Herzeg-Bosna, but they are monopolistic for the RH as well. For example, "Sokol" in Mostar and "Vitezit" in Vitez. They produce explosives, rocket fuel, powder.... During the war, we supplied the RH with beech wood, because most of the beech forests

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in RH were controlled by the Serbs during the war. The production of terry cloth is also monopolistic.... The major producers are "Lijanovici," "Peradarstvo" in Orasje, and others. "Inter-INA" has a monopoly on the distribution of fuel and fertilizer, but also the right to fix prices. Now and again we are forced to import a certain Croatian product from Slovenia to avoid paying too much in Croatia. When producers from Croatia feel that this is their export market, they lower the prices, but when they are protecting domestic production they raise them....

[Rados] How many people in Herzeg-Bosna have jobs?

[Lasic] Around 30,000, and right now we face an awkward situation because many young men are coming to us from the HVO [Croatian Defense Council]. We must secure jobs for those people.

[Rados] The most common criticism of the Herzeg-Bosna authorities to this day has been that it "permits" smuggling and illegal trade?

[Lasic] Smuggling does exist, but look, all these smuggled goods are entering through Croatia, which has its own services. There are smugglers on both sides of the border. Croatia has its services, so let them stop it. For example, a carton of Marlboros enters through Croatia, who knows how. These cigarettes have no stamps, have not been registered, and that constitutes theft from the state. No matter how much Herzeg-Bosna is responsible for the sale of such goods, it must be said that they cannot enter Herzeg-Bosna without passing through Croatia and clearing customs.

[Rados] Where did those Marlboros come from?

[Lasic] Those Marlboros arrived in Croatia by boat or were manufactured somewhere in Croatia. We know that the tobacco factory in Rovinj is a respectable company, that they put stamps on their cigarettes, and that they do not have this type of Marlboro that is sold on our market. Such cigarettes have been on our market for five years now. But even if an effort is made to do something, it all ends with the arrest of the "small fry," while the big ones get away. That is the way it is. There is one "monopolist" for beverages and cigarettes in each of our cities.... Cigarettes worth $30 million are consumed in Herzeg-Bosna each year. Now, Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] cigarettes are to be allowed on the Herzeg-Bosna market as well, because we are the market with the poorest selection of cigarettes.

[Rados] The opcinas in northwestern Herzeg-Bosna have been constantly dissatisfied over the past few years. In Livno, for example, they feel that they have been economically exhausted through various measures, and that they have not gotten anything in return?

[Lasic] For too long, Livno was exposed to the dangers of war, and now many young men are also returning home.... That opcina should be helped out through certain tax breaks. There has been practically no production, but they have had to pay all their taxes and contributions. They are dissatisfied, and for that I blame our government more than them. There are also big problems in newly liberated areas, where it will be hard to get production going, but the basic problem is the shortage of manpower. No one will go to Grahovo.... Perhaps production should be stimulated in those opcinas through tax breaks and other credits.

[Rados] I hear that large-scale trade has begun with the Muslims as well?

[Lasic] It is good that trade has begun, because it is better to trade than to fire guns.

B-H: Council Discusses HDZ Referendum on Zepce Borders

AU2103214296 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 96

[Report by Faruk Zubcevic from Maglaj—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Announcer] A regular session of the interim municipal council in Maglaj was held today. The session reviewed and adopted several reports, including the municipal budget for the first six months of the year and compensation for land plots. In addition to this, the council members also discussed the recent referendum on the redefinition of the Zepce municipality's existing borders. Faruk Zubcevic has the details:

[Zubcevic] The Croatian Democratic Union [HDZ] council members claimed that this was simply an initiative that showed the wishes of the Croatian people, and that the referendum did not contradict the Vienna, Dayton, or Rome agreements pertaining to the redefinition of existing borders and the formation of (?new) municipalities. Of course, the Bosniak council members were not satisfied with these answers, as they claimed that a redefinition of borders and the formation of new municipalities could only be discussed once all the refugees had returned to their homes, and their number in the Maglaj, Zavidovici, and Zepce municipalities exceeds 12,500. Although opinions varied, it was nevertheless assessed that it had been useful to discuss the topic openly and without emotion.

It was concluded that a session of the Maglaj municipality interim council would be prepared and held within the next two weeks, at which the exclusive topic of discussion would be the progress of the refugees' return,

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and who is actually stalling the establishment of the Federation in the area.

B-H: Spanish Brigade in Mostar Warns of 'Very Firm Action'

BR2203125496 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1024 GMT 21 Mar 96

[Unattributed report: "Spanish Brigade Participates in Mostar Reunification"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Madrid, 21 Mar (EFE)—Luis Palacios, commander of the Spanish brigade deployed in Bosnia, has met with the Croatian and Muslim civilian authorities in Mostar with a view to ensuring that there is no repeat of the incidents that occurred last weekend involving members of the two communities.

Defense Ministry sources said that General Palacios warned the mayor of East Mostar, Muslim Safet Orucevic, that Spanish troops would have to take "very firm" action if there were any repeat of the incidents during the movements of refugees. He also repeated that these conflicts should have been resolved by the civilian authorities.

The Spanish officer, who also analyzed the situation with Slobodan Bozic, the Croatian official from the office of relations with international organizations, attended a meeting yesterday afternoon with the political authorities in the area to look into new movements of Muslim refugees from the localities of Capljina and Stolac.

B-H: East Bosnian Delegates Elect Canton Officials

AU2203101896 Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 96 p 2

[BH PRESS report: "Rascic Elected Head of Canton"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the session of the Bosnian Podrinje Canton in Gorazde, Rijad Rascic, currently head of the district, has been elected Canton head in a secret ballot. Serif Becic has been elected deputy head and Kemal Camdzija chairman of the Canton's assembly.

The delegates proposed Halid Cengic as assembly vice chairman, but his appointment is yet to be confirmed.

B-H: IFOR Officer Admits Error Over Brcko Visit Deal

AU2203160596 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Although at previous meetings Lieutenant Colonel Tony Kukolo, commander of the Implementation Force [IFOR] battalion that controls the access roads to Brcko, reached an agreement with both entities on the details of the visit by a delegation of the expelled Brcko citizens to their city, today it was said at the meeting with representatives of the Association of Expelled Brcko Citizens that nothing would come of that agreement.

Amir Kadric reports in greater detail:

[Kadric] It was not easy to watch Lt. Col. Tony Kukolo try to persuade the representatives of the expelled Brcko citizens—and most of all himself, it seemed—that he had misunderstood the delegation of the Serb entity from Brcko, which at a recent meeting with him had agreed to allow the expelled Brcko citizens to tour their city and cemeteries by bus, but instead—which he said with a smile on his face—that he had misunderstood the words of the Serb representatives on safety guarantees during the said visits. However, in his next sentence he gave the best illustration as to whose fault it was that the agreement was not being implemented. He said: I messed up since I did not put everything that we had agreed on at the previous meeting on paper and give it to the two sides to sign. That would have made it crystal clear who had to do what.

Tony Kukolo, IFOR battalion commander in this region, said that this meant that the agreement on the expelled Brcko citizens visiting cemeteries in their city was automatically canceled. With what cynicism the Serb side views, all this can be best illustrated by their explanation that this cannot be allowed since the names of the people whose graves are to be visited have not been written down. After all this, the delegation of the Association of Expelled Brcko Citizens said to Lt. Col. Kukolo: We know full well who we are dealing with, and whose fault it is that the agreement fell through. Despite all this, we are willing to resume contact [words indistinct].

B-H: Sarajevo Council Says IFOR 'Hindering Normalization'

AU2103211796 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Sarajevo Executive Council at today's session reviewed the current situation following the reintegration of the city, and concluded that the behavior of the Implementation Force [IFOR] was hindering normalization, particularly as regards traffic.

Thus, in spite of the fact that the relevant city body rejected its request, IFOR nevertheless started work on Austria Square in Bistrik, which has made the reconstruction of the trolley station impossible. By maintaining the obstacles on the route from Skenderija

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to Grbavica, IFOR is hindering the establishment of traffic on this route. The same is true of the only route that links Hrasnica with Ilidza. Moreover, IFOR troops have blocked the intersection at the access to Ilijas. Apart from severing vital roads, IFOR has also usurped public spaces in the city central zone, and is using them for parking space. In spite of the city authorities' request to deploy to locations specifically chosen for this purpose, IFOR vehicles are still using the plateau in front of the Svjetlost and Sarajka department stores, and the lawns, the revitalization of which is scheduled to begin in the coming days.

The city Executive Council demands that IFOR consistently observe city regulations and take urgent measures to remedy the situation.

B-H: ICRC Denies Reports of 'Anarchy' in Sarajevo Suburbs

AU2103155996 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The commission for defining borders among entities is to meet in the Implementation Force's [IFOR] headquarters in Ilidza to try to solve problems regarding the borders between the entities in the Sarajevo district of Dobrinja, IFOR Sarajevo spokesman Simon Haselock said at today's news conference.

Owing to rising tension and the possibility of violence breaking out in Dobrinja, the UN international police force has called another 12 of their monitors to the district's police station, UN spokesman Alexander Ivanko told the press today. He added that a total of 48 international police officers were currently patrolling the area. Moreover, he said that Peter Fitzgerald, the international police force's commissioner, yesterday wrote to officials of the Federation and the Serb entity requesting that neither federal nor Serb police officers enter apartments in the Dobrinja I and IV districts, and that they do not draw closer than 100 meters from the buildings until the demarcation line is precisely defined.

International police officers will increase their patrols in and around the buildings to make sure that the orders are implemented.

IFOR will help the international police force in carrying out the orders, Ivanko said. He denied press reports citing the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC], according to which anarchy rules in the Sarajevo districts of Ilidza, Hadzici, and Grbavica. ICRC officials also denied the press reports, and confirmed the UN spokesman's statements that the situation in Sarajevo suburbs was stable.

B-H: Sarajevo Canton President, Associates Visit Hadzici

AU2103165896 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sabira Hadzovic, president of the Sarajevo canton, vice presidents Nermin Pecanac and Jovo Andric, and Sefkija Okeric, president of the Executive Council, today visited Hadzici municipality to assess the situation and acquaint themselves with the municipality's problems.

Municipal Governor Mustafa Delilovic said that all industrial installations had been completely destroyed. The Technical Overhaul Institute in Hadzici, the stone quarry, the Bjelasnica Hadzici lumber mill, and the Coca-Cola plant have all been stripped of equipment and destroyed.

Moreover, there is no hope of a speedy reestablishment of the electricity supply to Hadzici, as only three transmission stations, of the 50 that existed before the war, are still there. There are also difficulties with the water supply, as mines have been removed from one reservoir just a couple of days ago; the Implementation Force has promised to remove the mines from the other one in the coming days. Another problem is the bursting of underground pipes and the lack of water meters and valves.

The municipality's priority is to secure accommodation, primarily for the families of those killed and disabled in the war, and to launch production and give jobs to the unemployed. The cantonal delegation promised to help with the realization of projects that are of vital importance for the population of this Sarajevo municipality.

B-H: RS's Krajisnik: Serbs Do Not Recognize B-H Government

AU2103134696 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 96 p 3

[BETA report: "Ejup Ganic Does not Represent Anyone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Pale—Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Assembly of the Serb Republic (RS), stated yesterday that after the Dayton agreement the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina does not exist in the real sense of the word. "We do not recognize the Government of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but only the authorities of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Mr. Ejup Ganic will not represent anyone at the meeting in Geneva," Krajisnik said yesterday after his meeting with Carl Bildt in Pale.

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Krajisnik said that he had asked Bildt "to do a bit more to protect" Serbs who have stayed in Sarajevo, and their property, and to "influence the authorities of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation to behave correctly" toward those who want to cross to the RS territory. "In Geneva, I will insist that all the prisoners be released and the international police investigate the case of five Serbs who have been taken prisoner in Grbavica," Bildt said.

Bildt said that he had held talks with the authorities of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation about the situation in Sarajevo and concluded that the "situation is now much better" in Sarajevo. The issue of Brcko is complicated, and the settlement of that problem "should begin as soon as possible," Bildt said answering a question as to why he had asked for arbitration for Brcko before it was due.

B-H: Krajisnik Gives Details of His Talks With Bildt

LD2103181796 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 21 Mar (SRNA)—Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the National Assembly of the Serb Republic, had talks in Pale today with Carl Bildt, high representative of the international community for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the freedom of movement and release of POW's.

After the meeting, Krajisnik explained that he discussed with Mr. Bildt, among other things, "safer passage along the road to Sarajevo and the area of Trnovo over Trebevic mountain."

"If we abuse the freedom of movement and compete in making each others' lives more bitter, then it will be difficult to arrive at any positive solutions," Speaker Krajisnik said, and added:

"We asked for a more pronounced engagement of the international community in protecting the Serb property that remains in Sarajevo after the exodus [of Sarajevo Serbs]."

The speaker said that he was pleased that participants of the Geneva conference and Mr. Bildt raised the issue of the release of POW's and stressed that "the Serb side will observe this agreement fully."

"We are obliged to take an active part in solving this issue, although there are technical problems. I am an optimist because all sides obliged themselves in Geneva to solve the problem until the Contact Group meeting."

Krajisnik explained that the problem arose in connection with people who were arrested after the peace agreement was signed, including a Serb and a Muslim journalist, Ninko Djuric and Hidajet Delic.

Commenting on the forthcoming meeting in Moscow and the fact that the Serb Republic representatives were not invited, Krajisnik said that "the Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation have to be represented."

Carl Bildt mentioned that "the possibility of establishing the Ilidza-Lukavica bus line was discussed."

He said that "this will be an example of the establishment of links between Serbs who have stayed in the Muslim part of the city [of Sarajevo] and those living on the Serb Republic territory."

Today's meeting was also attended by Dragan Bulajic, chairman of the State Commission for the Exchange of POW's.

B-H: Plavsic: Karadzic Not Intending To Resign

AU2103150096 Belgrade TELEGRAF in Serbo-Croatian 13 Mar 96 pp 38-39

[Interview with Bosnian Serb "vice president" Biljana Plavsic by Djoko Kesic; place and date not given: "Relations Between the Croats and Muslims Will Get Increasingly Complicated—It Will Come to a Conflict Between Them, and Serbs Must by No Means Be Drawn Into That Conflict"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "It is logical—and that is the absolute truth which the organized terrorist forces of the international community under the flag of IFOR [Implementation Force] have to come to terms with—that president Karadzic and General Mladic will defend themselves with weapons, if IFOR tries to arrest them. It should be clear to them that this will lead to bloodshed; it is an elementary right of a man who has been attacked to defend himself, at least with the same means as those with which he has been attacked," Biljana Plavsic, the vice president of the Serb Republic, says in an interview with TELEGRAF.

[Plavsic] President Radovan Karadzic and Gen. Ratko Mladic have been chosen by their own people, they have fought in a civil war, and they have not committed any war crimes, so that shameful institution called The Hague Tribunal has no right to arrest them or to try them.

[Kesic] Concerning the practice of The Hague Tribunal and in view of how Gen. Djukic has been arrested and accused, there is the impression that no state or military leaders in the Serb Republic are safe. How do you endure the pressure?

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[Plavsic] It is great pressure and, logically, none of us feel safe. However, I have to say that we are not afraid and we hardly have time to think about it, because now we are much more concerned about how to accommodate more than 400,000 refugees who do not even have the most basic conditions for living.

[Kesic] The Serbs are moving out of Sarajevo. Many people blame the Pale leadership for such a Saigon atmosphere. Is there any justification for those accusations?

[Plavsic] Those accusations come from the world, as well as from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. I repudiate them, because we tried to find a solution for Sarajevo, to secure local self-rule for the Serbs in Sarajevo in the spirit of the Dayton agreement. The international community offered some hopes in that respect, concretely Mr. Carl Bildt. and, as long as that hope existed, we were telling the Serbs in Sarajevo that they should stay in their homes. However, when we saw that nothing would come out of it, we acted in a quite normal way: We did not advise the Serbs to stay or to go. The Serbs themselves decided what to do. It is tragic that they had defended themselves heroically for four years to keep their homes and now more than 90 percent of them have had to leave. The Serbs from Sarajevo did not want to have the status of serfs, which would certainly have happened had they stayed. That shows how deep the animosities between Serbs and Muslims are and the acts of the Muslim police in Vogosca and Ilijas show how right the Serbs are to think so, because life and human dignity are the most important priorities and the Serbs from Sarajevo have managed to keep that.

[Kesic] How realistic is it to believe that the Serbs will return to Sarajevo in the foreseeable future, as Carl Bildt claims?

[Plavsic] In a conversation with Mr. Bildt I felt that he still hoped that Serbs would return to Sarajevo. That hope exists in the international community as well, although it originates from a policy that is a complete failure. That hope is based on their lack of knowledge about relations, about history—all the way back to Turkish times. Those Turkish times have come back in this century, wherever Muslims rule in Bosnia today. The hope of the international community is an illusion, but the Serbs will never forget that it is their land, [Bosansko] Grahovo, Drvar, [Bosanski] Petrovac, and all 13 municipalities of the western Krajina [western Bosnia-Herzegovina] that were taken by the forces of the Muslim-Croat federation. Our generation may not live to see that, but some other generation will go back to their territory, once different relations are created in the world.

[Kesic] A few days ago, Alija Izetbegovic criticized the Serbs for moving into Brcko.

[Plavsic] Brcko is ours and his worries are his problem. The Serbs are moving into Brcko and they will stay there.

[Kesic] How do you see the final political and military solution in Bosnia-Herzegovina, with regard to the present stalemate?

[Plavsic] That is hard to foresee. In general, I believe that relations between Croats and Muslims will become more complicated. It will come to a conflict between them once the Serbs are no longer a problem on their territories; it is possible that war will break out between them, and I hope that in those conflicts we will be spared. In fact, Serbs must by no means allow themselves to be drawn into that conflict.

[Kesic] How realistic is it to believe that elections will be held in Bosnia-Herzegovina in September this year, since there are some very contrary views on the subject?

[Plavsic] We did not expect that the Serbs would get such a bad deal in the Dayton agreement. However, we got our territory and we are ready to hold elections in September, and even earlier, although concerning those elections there are many practical and political unclarities of which we are aware, which means that we will have to take care to avoid traps indicating that the international community would like to create a unified Bosnia again.

[Kesic] Hasan Muratovic, the prime minister of the Muslim government [Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina], said that it would be "better if the Socialist Party of the Serb Republic won the election than the SDS [Serb Democratic Party]." How do you read that message in political terms?

[Plavsic] Until the beginning of the war Mr. Muratovic was a member of the SKJ [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] and it is completely clear to him that socialists are only a different, changed name behind which there stand communists. Muratovic wants the socialists or some left-wing forces to win in the Serb Republic, as it is clear to him that in that case the national interests of the Serbs would be neglected. However, the prime minister of the Muslim government helps the Serbs unawares and shows them for whom they should vote. I expect that at the elections in the Serb Republic the SDS in coalition with another nationalist party will win, because the process which has started in the Serb Republic can be continued and ended only by a political party of a national- democratic orientation. If the socialists or a left-wing party wins, there will be no Serb Republic.

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[Kesic] How do you see the political role and destiny of president Karadzic, in view of the pressure of The Hague Tribunal, and also the open messages from the Banja Luka region, saying that this region has been damaged by the territorial division as well as the overall policy from Pale?

[Plavsic] President Karadzic is the duly elected president of the Serb Republic. His obligations and rights are clearly defined in the constitution of the Serb Republic and we have no intention to change that part of the constitution. The indictment of The Hague Tribunal will not be the thing to elect our president and Karadzic will not resign because of it. Let us make one thing clear: No justice is being done in The Hague Tribunal, but rather the dirtiest sort of politics and we accept that.

As for the second part of your question about the territorial division and the neglecting of the Banja Luka region, I see it in the first place as a problem for which one must not insist on divisions among Serbs. The military defeat of the Serb Republic in our western part was caused by the joint attack of NATO forces, the Muslim-Croat federation, the Croatian Army, and the Rapid Reaction Force. We expected the final phase of the war to take place in the western part of the Serb Republic, because NATO was helping the Croats to conquer the Serb parts of Bosnian Krajina, since it could not help them realize their century-old dream—Croatian flags on the Drina [border between Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina]. I believe that the whole Dayton map was agreed in advance at a much higher level; neither the military nor the state leadership of the Serb Republic took part in those negotiations, and President Milosevic might know something more about that.

[Kesic] Serbia has announced an intensified repatriation of refugees into the Serb Republic. What are your thoughts, will the majority of refugees come back to the Serb Republic and where will they be accommodated?

[Plavsic] We have enough territory and buildings for accommodation. True, those buildings are rather damaged, so our problem now is how to provide the funds for their restoration. We will do all we can to achieve that. All refugees, Serbs from former Bosnia-Herzegovina, are welcome, we are inviting them, we are counting on them, and I believe that we will provide the material basis for the start of a better life and the construction of the Serb Republic.

[Kesic] Refugees from Drvar, Petrovac, and Grahovo are announcing that they will go back there. Are their wishes realistic and how does the leadership of the Serb Republic view these demands?

[Plavsic] The leadership of the Serb Republic does not have a clear attitude about that. Those people who wish to go should go—that is the attitude of the leadership of the Serb Republic. However, my advice is that they should by no means do that, if they have any historical memories; or they should only think of what happened to them on their withdrawal from their villages and towns, or they should remember the withdrawal of Serbs from the Republic of Serb Krajina. That is a warning enough. Otherwise, I am afraid that they will be exposed to different tortures, from physical ones and political prosecution, to forcible conversion.

[Kesic] You have not had good relations with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. What is your relationship like today and how do you see his role in establishing peace on the territory of former Yugoslavia?

[Plavsic] My relationship with President Milosevic has become neither better nor worse. The political and national attitude of President Milosevic is completely clear to me. I would like if in this situation, which is hard for all Serbs, President Milosevic had a emphasis on the national component in his policy, as he had when he became the leader of all Serbs. However, he does not have it. At the latest congress of the Socialists, where the Internationale was played and where he addressed his followers as "comrades," it could be seen what is most important for him. My attitudes are different, of course, although I respect his right to have an attitude different than mine. He and I had the same attitudes at the beginning. Socialists and leftist forces on Serbian territories have for a long time been saying that "peace has no alternatives," whereas I believe that peace must not come at any price, particularly not if the price is the disappearance of the Serb nation. At one time it seemed that, because of that peace with no alternative, half the Serbs from the Serb Republic would go to Serbia and the other half convert to Islam.

Mr. Milosevic forgets that he grew on a national program, that he won the elections with it, and now he believes that he will win the election by "entering the 21" [not further specified]. But I am afraid that his calculations are wrong.

B-H: Kasagic Discusses Human Rights With CE Official

LD2203125696 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1123 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 22 Mar (SRNA)—Serb Republic Prime Minister Rajko Kasagic held talks in Pale today with Daniel Tarschys, secretary general of the Council of Europe [CE], on the establishment of a commission for human rights and the membership

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of the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim Federation [Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation] in the European council for protection of human rights.

"We asked if the Serb Republic and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation could have a separate membership in the European council for human rights, since the former Bosnia-Herzegovina became its associate member two years ago," Kasagic said after the talks.

He confirmed that a founding session of the commission for human rights in the union of the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation would be convened in Sarajevo on 27 March and that basic principles of its further development were discussed today.

In conclusion, Kasagic said that the Serb Republic was extremely interested in human rights because economic progress in the union of the Serb Republic and the Croat-Muslim federation was dependent on the advancements in the sphere of human rights.

Expressing his pleasure at meeting Kasagic, Tarschys said that the CE expected a united Bosnia-Herzegovina to be a member state in which human rights, laws and democratic principles were respected.

"It is extremely important that the mechanisms for the protection of human rights from the Dayton agreement are implemented. This is a precondition for economic growth and the establishment of peace and harmony in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina," Tarschys said.

B-H: Interview With Serb Civic Council President

LD1803230796 Sarajevo Televizija Bosne i Hercegovine in Serbo-Croatian 2232 GMT 16 Mar 96

[Interview with Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Serb Civic Council president, by Arijana Salacevic-Helac; place and date not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Salacevic-Helac] Good evening, dear viewers. Our guest tonight is Professor Mirko Pejanovic, a member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and Serb Civic Council president. Good evening, Professor Pejanovic.

[Pejanovic] Good evening. [passage omitted on his personal feelings upon entering parts of Sarajevo, the enormous scale of destruction, and on the reasons people are abandoning their homes]

[Salacevic-Helac] And have you found an answer?

[Pejanovic] Well, we are still moving in the sphere of politics. We are still thinking about that sphere. It is difficult to reach a definite answer but one answer is certain which could be expressed as follows:

It is easy to politically manipulate a small, ordinary man. That can be achieved by an authority which ignores the ordinary man and by an authority whose own goals take precedence over the interests of the ordinary man.

In this case, an authority whose name is the Pale regime. They started with the concept of their survival being... [pauses] They started the war with the concept of forceful eviction of people from their homes.

Initially, they did this with other nationalities. Bosniaks [Muslims], then Croats, and then nothing stood in their way to do the same to their own people, Serb people, by using different pressures. Genocide, ethnic cleansing, and eviction of people from their homes were carried out in their name and for them [the Serb nation].

So, this is where the answer lies.

The nature of the authority is such that it is organized as a totalitarian system in which there exists one television, one truth, one propaganda, and one pressure. It is organized in such a way to politically manipulate people and not to avoid, on the contrary to apply, methods of pressure. [passage omitted]

After a certain time had passed, after all these ongoing processes unleashed by this war had passed, then even the ordinary man will be able to see what he had agreed to, where it had led him to, and what it all meant to him. [passage omitted]

The question arises: Can a Sarajevan be a Sarajevan in Bratunac? No, he cannot. It is a great tragedy into which people from the city of Sarajevo, from these four city municipalities and the fifth area, Grbavica, and it is not over yet. They have been pushed into, they have been forced into being homeless, forced to live where they have not lived before without knowing what will be their real, human future.

All this has been done in the name of some collective interest promoted as the interest of ethnic cleansing, ethnic separation, then ethnic grouping. [sentence as heard] In other words, [the Pale regime maintained] that Serbs may live only with Serbs and nobody else and that they can live only with people of the same nationality, ethnically pure. Although on the other side of the [River] Drina Serb people have lived for centuries in mixed communities. Although there the Serb nation is in the majority it is a known fact that 35 percent of the people in Serbia—which is in a sense the motherland to Serb people—are not of Serb nationality. [passage omitted]

[Salacevic-Helac] Why was the international community so lenient towards the Pale regime regarding ethnic cleansing?

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[Pejanovic] It has its history. The beginning of the war, the course of the war, and the end of the war. And now, the aftermath of Dayton. During the war not enough was known, not enough information was available on ethnic cleansing, the persecution of people, killings, and on the camps.

When all this became known the international community introduced some measures, among which was setting up the Hague War Crimes Tribunal. But the main thing was that the war ended and a stop was put to forceful eviction of people from their homes. In my opinion, the international community believed that with Dayton it had put a stop to all the war-related processes [ratni procesi]. Unfortunately, events show that this is not the case. Events show that the Pale leaders, including Karadzic—symbol of that policy—have been left to do in peace what they had been doing during the war. And that is where the international community made the wrong assessment.

It was said in Dayton that people like Karadzic, people indicted for war crimes, must leave the political stage, that they cannot lead the political processes. After all, they are isolated.

In spite of this, the international community did not make the moves and steps it should have made. They remained on the political stage and continued to do what they did during the war. In this case, they continued to demonstrate force against ordinary civilians, in this case Serb civilians. The aim of this demonstration of force was to move the civilians from their homes [in Sarajevo] to easter Bosnia, to the areas from which they had earlier removed Bosniaks. By doing so they wanted to prevent Bosniaks from returning and also to justify their policy of ethnic cleansing. And also to to alleviate their responsibility for war crimes. [sentence as heard] [passage omitted]

If the economic recovery is not realized, if the refugees do not return, if after the elections predominantly national parties or one-nationl parties with extremists like the SDS [Karadzic's Serbian Democratic Party] model remain on stage... [pauses] Because it is not only a question of wartime. As you can see, the SDS conducts ethnic cleansing and movements of population even in time of peace. [If they remain in power] there will be further ethnic grouping of the Bosnia-Herzegovina population, there will be further separation along ethnic lines. It will be not only separation along ethnic lines but ethnic division of Bosnia- Herzegovina and pressures to implement that division on territorial, political, and state levels. [passage omitted]

[Salacevic-Helac] What are the interests of the citizens of Serb nationality in the federation?

[Pejanovic] The same as the interests of others.

As for the joint, general interests of the citizens of Serb nationality within the Federation, the following could be said:

Their interest is that they should be equal in everything [heavily stresses preceding word] with other citizens, to enjoy human and civil rights. According to the Federation Constitution they are guaranteed except for one [point]. In the Federation Serbs do not enjoy the status of a nation. In that respect, Serbs are not equal with Bosniaks and Croats and it was not possible as it is a Federation of two peoples and not three.

But we, citizens of Serb nationality are not reconciled to this. I am referring to the two assemblies of citizens of Serb nationality. One was held in March 94, the other in April 95. Both have submitted to the Federation Parliament an amendment to the question of the Serb status within the Federation.

This amendment demands a better solution to the present status of Serbs within the Federation. In fact, the demand is for their national, and through that political, equality so that they can be on electoral lists and also be elected to all institutions—to be able to vote for others and to be elected.

We consider this a political issue. We believe this question can be solved on the political level. We have briefed representatives of all international organizations and institutions here [in Sarajevo] on this issue.

We expect the Federation to stabilize on its own and through its own forces and then this issue can be included on the agenda and that it could be solved in an adequate manner.

We believe that the solution of the question of Serb equality in the Federation would be an initial model. It would be a model of how to solve the equality issue for the three peoples that live in Bosnia-Herzegovina, in all its parts and in all areas throughout. Let me be more specific and direct in my explanation. For example, Serbs are to be equal in Mostar, Croats in Derventa [on the territory of a Serb entity], and Bosniaks in Foca or Zvornik [former predominantly Muslim towns, now on the territory of a Serb entity].

Anyway, the Dayton agreement says, among other things, that Bosnia-Herzegovina is comprises of its three constituent people. Thus, a basis was created for a Bosniak, a Croat, and a Serb to be equal in terms of constituency, irrespective of their place of residence.

In my opinion, the future of Bosnia-Herzegovina lies in the construction of a modern federation on the whole

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of its territory. Cantons—as entities, as regions—would form the basis of such a federation. And in one of the chambers, in the Peoples Chamber, in that modern federation the three nations would have equal status and decisionmaking on what is each other's national interest would be made by consensus, on an equal footing.

But this is in the future and we should strive toward it. It will come, without any doubt, as our future.

No one benefited from the divisions, partitions, from the walls that some wanted to erect in our cities. In the final analysis, we were all losers through such a policy and attitude toward the ordinary man—we all saw that. [passage omitted]

We have been advocating and fighting for a solution within that context—for a constitutional, political solution, for a peace solution—for the city of Sarajevo to be preserved as the largest center of this country, as capital of this state, and as a bastion of multiethnic life that won the war. It has defended itself with its internal stregnth, with its sacrificed lives. [passage omitted]

If it was up to mè, the Serb Republic would have its capital in Sarajevo and not in some other place, in a backwater such as Pale is. There is no cultural and economic development without a strong, main centre which is called the capital.

The meaning of the words Sarajevo District is multifold. The first point I would like to mention is the [need] to preserve the city as a city. Second, it is the need to preserve its cultural and intellectual values. Above everything else [stresses preceding words] I would stress the need to preserve its multiethnic structure and the need to preserve the confidence of Bosnia-Hercegovina citizens in their capital as a capital, in Sarajevo as Sarajevo, as their capital radiating rays, as when the sun rises. That light and progress are expected from it—that is the role of a capital. [passage omitted]

Tens of thousands of people evicted during the war from eastern Bosnia and other Bosnia-Herzegovina areas live in Sarajevo. They all have their temporary residences in Sarajevo. A large number of people have left Sarajevo, people of all nationalities. They went to European and other countries. [passage omitted]

I believe that this community, in cooperation with the international community, our social community, the city of Sarajevo, the federation, and the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic should embark boldly on such a project. The return of people to Sarajevo must be assured—the return of Sarajevans, of people who made up Sarajevo.

Without their return there is no progress for Sarajevo. There is room for everyone in Sarajevo. We, from the Serb Civic Council, and I personally as a member of the presidency, invite all Sarajevans and all Bosnians and Herzegovians to start thinking now about returning to their country, to start thinking about returning to their cities so that we can all start building our future together. [passage omitted]

Of course, this [the right to return] will be most difficult. Many governments—from the one elected in the forthcoming elections onward—will probably fall on this issue. It will be very difficult to solve. An economic basis for this right must be found, in order for people to go to their home towns, to build their houses, there must be democracy and security.

We [the SCC as a movement] have had a certain measure of success among the diaspora, among the people in the diaspora, mainly in the European countries. We have also had some contacts in Belgrade and Montenegro. Not much because our organizational, technical, human, and material potential does not allow us to organize a more prominent media presence in Belgrade on a serious and permanent basis or stay in Belgrade, in Podgorica, in Stockholm, in Paris—in places with large numbers of refugees.

Still, we have achieved something. We have established links with opposition from the Serb entity, with other parties and movements and their representatives were present at our two assemblies; we have our representatives in European cities; and we have had contacts, talks etc.

As far as our activity on the territory of the Serb entity is concerned, it went as far as was possible but there is no freedom of movement. Even now, after all this time since Dayton, freedom of movement has not been restored.

Our activity is reduced to the media sphere. It goes as far as the media and individual contacts with people from these areas will allow. There have been such contacts in some European centers and in European countries with people who have initiated, so to speak, the new democratic alternative in Banja Luka and other places and who had come to meetings within the framework of international organizations, people who came to cities, for example London and other places.

The meeting in Perugia attended by the representatives of the opposition forces from Banja Luka from the independent deputies' club, is well known. Present were also representatives of some Bosnia-Hercegovina parties, namely Union of Bosnia-Hercegovina Social Democrats and SCC representatives. Those were contacts, important contacts, where information was exchanged, possibilities of joint action discussed. Contacts

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such as these contributed to the better knowledge of the situation both on the Serb entity territory and on the Federation territory. [passage omitted]

They told us that amnesty was the main problem. We have worked on the problem of amnesty for almost a month. I would like to stress that we have had four meetings with President Izetbegovic on the question of amnesty.

Amnesty was the subject of our talks with the representatives of embassies of all Contact Group member countries accredited here, with the international community representatives, and with our assembly deputies. We managed to create a climate, an atmosphere and we have prepared the ground in the media [to show] that the issue of amnesty is the main issue those people raise when discussing the question of remaining in these areas.

All this contributed to their decision to set up their own organizations such as for example the Serb Democratic Initiative in Ilidza.

It also contributed to the fact that in some areas of Ilidza—not in all but in some—the areas like Osijek, Vrelo Bosne [smaller mainly agricultural communities on the outskirts of Ilidza], and other areas—the old residents stayed behind. [passage omitted]

[Salacevic-Helac] Are there any indications that the SCC could be transformed into a party?

[Pejanovic] No. The Serb Civic Council cannot become a party. Such a possibility was excluded with the establishment itself of the SCC, at the First Assembly of Citizens of Serb Nationality in March 1994 and in the statute adopted at the assembly. Council members are all politically and community active Serbs from all the political parties in the areas under the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government control who—both as parties and individuals—have accepted the ideas the Serb Civic Council. Those are the ideas of a single, multiethnic, democratic Bosnia-Herzegovina.

It was the only possible solution given the historical circumstances in which Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Serb people in Bosnia-Herzegovina have found themselves. The peace process and the quest for a peaceful solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina showed that such a solution was successful. That solution will also have a part to play in the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the reinstatement of confidence among nationalities, in the Bosnia-Herzegovina reconstruction and the reintegration of a section of the Serb nation—[but not the one] which has not accepted Bosnia- Herzegovina and which, in the final analysis, has been destroying Bosnia-Herzegovina through the policy expressed by Karadzic.

All this does not exclude a very active SCC role in elections. The council sees that role as the implementation of an idea to create a block of democratic, civic forces [advocating] a single, multiethnic Bosnia-Herzegovina and in direct cooperation with political parties whose members are in the Serb Civic Council. The Council will engage all its moral and political credibility—including on the local levels such as in Mostar and Tuzla—in promoting democratization of Bosnia-Herzegovina and working for the success of the first post-war elections.

Of course, the main question for us is whether or not there will be a democratization process among the Serb people and what form it will take in the area of the Serb entity. We will establish contacts and hold talks and discussions with democratic, opposition forces in Banja Luka and in other towns. It could serve as a basis on which we will establish a democratic and wider alliance. It could lead towards democratization of the Serb people and also toward the reintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina and towards the development of a stable economic and political future for the Bosnia-Herzegovina state. [passage omitted]

Thanks to that idea [of multinational Bosnia-Herzegovina], thanks to the idea of the return of refugees and democratization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, I believe we are at the start of a new society in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of development of new relations, at the start of development of new market economy, and the reinstatement of the confidence among nations. [This new confidence] is bound to have some specific characteristics that it did not have before the war. A large part of Bosnia was ethnically regrouped during the war. A process will begin that will transform this within the framework of free economic prosperity.

I am an optimist and I believe that Bosnia-Herzegovina will be a country of prosperity for all people who live there.

[Salacevic-Helac] Thank you for being our guest. Dear viewers, this was the interview with Mirko Pejanovic, a member of the Presidency and the Serb Civic Council president.

B-H: Serbs, Croats To Exchange Bodies of Slain Soldiers

LD2103162196 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Medjugorje, 21 Mar (SRNA)—Representatives of [Bosnian] Serb and Croat commissions for the exchange [of POW's] agreed in Medjugorje [Herzegovina] today to exchange bodies of soldiers killed on battlefields in Herzegovina on the former separation line which runs between municipalities

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of Mostar [under control of Muslim-Croat federation] and Nevesinje [Serb-controlled] by 30 March.

The agreement was reached at a meeting held at the Spanish Ifor [Implementation Force] brigade HQ in Medjugorje and attended by representatives of the commission for exchange of the Croat Union of Herzeg-Bosna [Croat Republic of Herzeg-Bosna].

The exchange will be coordinated, it was agreed, by representatives of the French Ifor division in whose area of responsibility the bodies of killed soldiers are.

No precise agreement on the exchange between the Serb and Croat side was reached in Medjugorje, but there was an exchange of useful information in possession of commissions of the Serb Republic and the Croat Union of Herzeg-Bosna at the meeting.

B-H: Hague Court Confirms Arrested Serb Already Indicted

AU2203110896 Paris AFP in English 1023 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, March 22 (AFP)—A Bosnian Serb arrested in Germany earlier this week features on the list of indicted war criminals, a spokesman for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICT) said Friday [22 March].

Christian Chartier said the man, Goran Lajic, arrested in Amberg in southeast Germany Monday, was indicted on July 21, 1995.

Two other war-crimes suspects were arrested the same day.

Lajic is accused of crimes against humanity and serious violations of the Geneva Conventions while at the Keraterm prison camp near Prijedor, in northwest Bosnia-Herzegovina.

To date some 53 men have been indicted on war crimes following the bloody break-up of the former Yugoslavia.

B-H: Presidency: All Criminals Must Be Put on Trial

AU2203154196 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hague Tribunal today indicted Zejnil Delalic, Zdravko Mucic, Hazim Delic, and Esad Landzo for war crimes.

In connection with the indictment from The Hague, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency and other Bosnia-Herzegovina legal bodies want to make their views clear: All criminals have to be put on trial.

B-H: Trial of Croat War Crimes Suspect Adjourned

AU2103165596 Paris AFP in English 1632 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, Bosnia-Herzegovina, March 21 (AFP)—The trial of a Bosnian Croat accused of war crimes was adjourned for a week here Thursday [21 March] after prosecutors dropped a raft of murder charges, a tribunal official said.

The military court granted the adjournment following a plea by the lawyer for Ivan Stjepanovic, after the prosecution withdrew charges related to 19 other murders.

The 26-year-old had originally been charged with 27 deaths, but only eight murder charges have been retained. He has been accused of involvement in the deaths of 60 others.

The trial in this Serb bastion in northwest Bosnia-Herzegovina is set to resume March 28.

B-H: Crimes Tribunal Issues Indictments Against Bosniaks

AU2203131496 Paris AFP in English 1219 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Hague, March 22 (AFP)—The International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia on Friday [22 March] issued its first indictments against Muslims accused of committing war-crimes against Bosnian Serbs.

The court accused three Muslims, and a Croat, of killing, torturing and raping detainees at the Celebici prison camp in central Bosnia between spring 1992 and the end of that year.

The suspects were identified as Zejnil Delalic, 48, who coordinated the activities of Muslim and Croat forces in the Celebici region between April and September 1992; Zdravko "Pavo" Mucic, 51, the camp commander between May and November 1992; Hazim Delic, 31, Mucic's deputy; and Esad "Zenga" Landzo, 23, a guard at the camp between May and December 1992.

It was unclear which of the suspects were Bosnian Muslims.

Delalic and Mucic were arrested on Monday, the former in Munich and the latter in Vienna, said tribunal spokesman Christian Chartier. He said the two other suspects are still at large.

Chartier told reporters that war-crimes investigators were hampered in gathering evidence for their case by the lack of cooperation from the Belgrade and Bosnian Serb authorities.

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"They did not allow tribunal investigators to interview witnesses or victims," he said, adding that the tribunal prosecutor "finally managed to have witnesses travel to other countries to testify."

He said several non-governmental organisations had also provided assistance in setting up the interviews with the witnesses.

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Croatia: Tudjman Holds Talks With Madeleine Albright

LD2103230296 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Madeleine Albright, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, held talks this evening with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman.

After the meeting, reporters were addressed by Ambassador Albright and Mate Granic, Croatian deputy prime minister and foreign minister, who also attended today's talks. Drazen Korda reports.

[Korda] The talks with President Tudjman centered on the implementation of the basic agreement on Croatia's Danubian Region [eastern Slavonia]. The formulation of this agreement at the United Nations was greatly contributed to by ambassador Albright herself. Speaking to reporters, she stressed U.S. Ambassador [Peter] Galbraith's role in the Erdut Agreement. Mrs. Albright also expressed her satisfaction at the meeting with Minister Granic and especially with President Tudjman with whom, she said, she has an excellent rapport and a superb understanding on many issues.

Madeleine Albright made the following comments on the results of her second visit to Croatia's Danubian Region and Vukovar:

[Albright in English, fading into Serbo-Croatian] I believe that I have spent a very good day in eastern Slavonia, talking most importantly with some of the leaders there, who, I am convinced, are determined to go on with the implementation of the Erdut agreement. [passage omitted]

[Korda] Mate Granic, deputy prime minister and foreign minister, also gave his impressions of the meeting.

[Granic] President Tudjman thanked Mrs. Albright on the ongoing efforts on the development of closer relations between the United States and the Republic of Croatia, especially regarding the peaceful reintegration of eastern Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srijem.

The president laid special emphasis on the importance of the speedy demilitarization of this area and the implementation of all the provisions of the Erdut-Zagreb Agreement.

The president again reiterated our firm commitment to the strengthening of the Federation [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] and the development of its links with Croatia, as well as to the Europeanization and European integration of the Federation.

The president also reiterated our firm resolve to cooperate with the Hague [war crimes] Tribunal.

[Korda] Answering reporters' questions, Madeleine Albright said that her visit to the once beautiful but now devastated Vukovar was marked by mixed feelings of sadness and hope, stressing that the important thing was for the people there to return to normal life. [passage omitted]

Croatia: U.S. Envoy's Motorcade Stoned in Vukovar

LD2103143996 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Vukovar, 21 March (Tanjug)—Several hundred citizens of Vukovar at around 1400 [1300 GMT] today thwarted an attempt by Madeleine Albright, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations to visit an open-air market in Vukovar.

Mrs. Albright was met with shouts of protest and indignation.

At the point when a column of vehicles in which Madeleine Albright was traveling set off from the market, several stones were thrown at the motorcade, breaking a window on a van; nobody has been hurt. Madeleine Albright has not commented on the incident. She will also visit Ilok today.

Croatia: Commentary Supports Multiethnic, Autonomous Slavonia

AU2103182896 Belgrade POLITIKA EKSPRES in Serbo-Croatian 14 Mar 96 p 2

[Commentary by Ratko Stevic: "Facts Are Composing New Resolutions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The eastern sector of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK], where at the moment over 175,000 people live, is peaceful at first sight. The war is over, but the United Nations, the EU, and the transitional administration are probing the terrain to extend support to the District Council and local Serb authorities in the Srem [Serbian variant of Srijem] and Baranja regions, in the realization of the Erdut agreement. The aim is to raise this—in economic terms—promising region to the level of a developed European region, and not to let it slide back into the grayness of a retrograde economy of the Croatian banana state.

The United Nations Military Observers—that is, the European military observers and other military and civilian structures of the United Nations and the EU in this region—witness on a daily basis quite a different reality than the one presented by Croatian propaganda. The latest statements issued by Klein, Galbraith, and (Puscher) to many Croatian and foreign media about the real situation in the region have simply shocked the

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public in Tudjman's state. And they said nothing new, but only stated the real truth.

Because the Serbs, the ethnic Hungarians, the Sokci [Ikavian Catholic inhabitants of Backa, Srijem, Slavonia, coming originally from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia], the Yugoslavs, and the Croats are living here in harmony, are not to blame for this war, and defended this region with much dedication, sustaining great losses, and now they are rightfully expecting Europe and the world to accept them as an established multiethnic community based on the principles of modern democracy.

However, there is a justified fear among all the citizens of the eastern sector of RSK of any kind of coalition with a one-nation and ideologically indoctrinated Croatia. The region of Slavonia and Baranja is, although in all aspects a European region, too small and powerless to lead Croatia into the 21st century. This notion is causing a growing awareness among certain UN and EU diplomats that this region should not be sacrificed and added to Croatia at any price. Instructions are already being conveyed to the UN and EU headquarters that another option should be found, according to which the eastern sector of RSK could be established as an independent European region. The conviction is growing that it is necessary to change the contents of the UN Security Council resolutions adopted so far, because they are outdated and do not reflect the real situation in this region and its needs, and particularly not the will of its inhabitants.

Even the U.S. ambassador to Croatia, Peter Galbraith, agrees that something ought to be changed. He believes that Croatia is not interested in creating the conditions for security in Krajina and in other regions in order for the Serbs to be able to return to their homes. A much better solution for them is to move to the region of eastern Slavonia. A possible change in the relevant resolutions is being announced by General Klein, who says that Croats here cannot return until the destiny of the Serbs displaced from Croatia is settled, while Croatia, at least for the time being, does little to make possible the Serbs' return to their homes.

The transitional administration, headed by U.S. General Klein, has very little time to do anything on the political scene, but it will come to see quite soon that this region should be raised above an average, and preserved as an oasis of peace that many could learn from! Because Baranja in particular has always known how to preserve its inborn values of multiculturalism—from the early Middle Ages through both World Wars until today. It is here where European concepts of living, of national and religious tolerance, are tested. Why should such a treasure, on which even Europe insists, not be preserved, particularly since even the EU and UN high representatives have been able to understand the real situation in this region in just a few months?

Croatia: Serb Officials Discuss Moving Refugees to Baranja

AU2103192696 Beli Manastir Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 19 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Our colleague Mladen Gliba has a report on yesterday's meeting between Sombor, Apatin, Odzaci, Kula, and Vrbas municipal officials and Beli Manastir municipal officials. The discussion concerned the help provided by the Vojvodina municipalities and the implementation of the program for the settlement of the refugee Serbs in the Baranja area. After the meeting Dr. (?Srdjan Stokuca), president of the Vrbas municipal assembly, and (?Pesic), president of the Odzaci municipal assembly, issued statements to our colleague.

[Begin recording] [Gliba] After increasingly frequent requests from the refugees from the Republic of Croatia who are temporarily accommodated in the four municipalities in western Backa, Sombor, Odzaci, Kula, and Apatin, the Beli Manastir delegation—consisting of the president of the municipal assembly, Slobodan Milovac, the president of the executive council of the municipal assembly, Vaso Zigic, and the head of the municipality, (?Miroslav Nikic)—visited Sombor today and discussed with municipal officials there the modalities of implementing the settlement and housing program for refugees in the Baranja area, and the consolidation of economic cooperation. The president of the Vrbas municipal assembly, at which a large number of refugees are also accommodated, also attended the meeting.

At the moment, there are about 30,000 refugees on the territory of the four municipalities in western Backa; their lives and economic problems are becoming increasingly complicated, while what the state is able to do to provide more adequate and permanent accommodation and better existence for them is very limited. Moreover, the aid provided by the international community has been very poor.

This is why activities should be intensified in the upcoming period, with the aim of meeting the demands of those who wish to permanently settle in Baranja, as someone at the meeting said. Remarking that since May of last year some 7,000 refugees have settled in the Baranja area, the president of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly, Slobodan Milovac, said that the establishment of peace in the area and the Erdut Agreement have created the conditions for the settlement of about

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2,000 more refugees, though the housing facilities they would be using have to be reconstructed or repaired, and economic activity has to be intensified.

Stating that the implementation of the settlement program does not end with settlement, but rather with the creation of other preconditions, primarily for the people to be able to live from their work, the president of the executive council of the Beli Manastir municipal assembly, Vaso Zigic, pointed out that the people will not only be given housing space, but also plots of land around it, while intensified economic activity will create the necessary preconditions for better jobs. He also said that cooperation with businessmen from Serbia will be particularly important in that sense. According to him, the assurances provided by General Klein, the transitional administrator, that there will be no ban on transport of goods between this area and Serbia, are also an encouraging sign.

The officials of the western Backa area supported the program for the settlement of refugees in Baranja, as well as the efforts toward consolidation of economic cooperation.

[Unidentified official] We gathered in Sombor today to see what the needs are in the reconstruction of the facilities, in order for a certain number of Serbs from the former Croatia to be accommodated in the Baranja area. Our municipality will certainly take on some obligations, and we will do our best to help as much as possible, as these people are at present accommodated either with their families or collectively, which is [words indistinct] and temporary, as we all know. Moreover, I hope that our businessmen will continue the economic cooperation, probably [words indistinct].

[Second unidentified official] The municipality of Odzaci has been cooperating with the Beli Manastir municipal assembly for quite a while. This cooperation is necessary, as [passage indistinct] throughout the war, and before the war, and the political [word indistinct] of all those meetings and this cooperation is to implement this program.

[Gliba] Both sides established that the activity should be intensified in the future in order for the decisions of this meeting to be implemented as soon and as efficiently as possible. [end recording]

Croatia: Serb Parties Back Entry to Council of Europe

LD2203151196 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1428 GMT 22 Mar 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, March 22 (TANJUG)—The Serb National Party in Zagreb on Friday backed a proposal for Croatia's admission into the Council of Europe, because conditions for this included the return of Serb refugees and full protection of their rights and freedoms.

Serb National Party President Milan Djukic said in the statement that Croatia should also adopt a law on amnesty and set up a temporary international court for the protection of human rights and freedoms.

By admitting Croatia into the Council of Europe, the international community would simultaneously take the responsibility for the realization of Croatia's obligations for resolving important open issues, including the status of Serbs in Croatia, the statement said.

According to Yugoslav Government figures, about 550,000 Serbs fled Croatia since 1991, when Croatia seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation.

The Serb democratic forum in Zagreb also gave its full support for Croatia's admission into the Council of Europe.

Forum representative and president of the Independent Serb Party Milorad Pupovac described as very important the fact that Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and parliament speaker Vlatko Pavletic had signed a document in which Croatia accepted the Council of Europe's conditions.

Croatia's admission into the European Union would lead to the introduction of European standards in the respect for human and minority rights in Croatia, Pupovac said.

Croatia: Opposition Attacks Against Tudjman Condemned

96BA0194B Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 96 pp 12-13

[Article by Milan Ivkosic: "From Serb-Style Talk to the Bundestag"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Who, then, wants to hold power in Zagreb when the opposition struggle for that power links and combines Serb-style talk at the KIC [Culture and Information Center], the metaphor of Croatia "on the brink of the abyss," comparisons of Tudjman with*

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Pavelic, efforts to have Zagreb discussed in the Bundestag, and leaks of nonexistent and existing differences and conflicts within the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] in the pages of GLOBUS, NACIONAL, and other publications?

The Board of Ethics of the Croatian Society of Journalists [HND] has spoken up after the "notorious" article by Roman Latkovic in Rijeka's NOVI LIST, and after the reactions to that article, among which particular emphasis should be given to the comments on the Dnevnik television show. "The Board of Ethics," the statement by that body says, "supports the respect and esteem that is due the institution of president of the republic." However, it is against "general challenges of the right of journalists to think and write freely" and against "the challenges of the overall editorial policy of NOVI LIST or HTV [Croatian Television]," which have "unmistakably occurred" during debate on this matter.

Why is it necessary to protect the institution of president of Croatia? Because he is elected. If he were not elected, if he seized power or were forced on the nation without elections, he would be protected through repression, bans, and various forms of tyranny. By protecting the president of Croatia, every person who could be, or will be, elected is also protected. Croatia has not yet gotten used to the passage of time. And that passage is the most dependable democratic criterion. In the "critical" perception or the "critical" impatience of a rather large number of journalists and opposition politicians, the attacks on the president are an expression of the intolerable nature of Tudjman's present, of Tudjman's current presidential power and policy.

Specifically, right now Croatia has the opportunity to soon liberate its entire territory, to begin economic recovery, and to consolidate its position in the world even further, which apparently is not to someone's liking. Instead of being given time to do its job, the present is being burdened with dramatic accusations, so as to repudiate the criterion of the passage of time through that drama. This dramatization of the present moment has been repeated since the beginning of democracy in Croatia. We need only recall how prior to "Operation Storm" people were declaring that Croatia had been betrayed and "Cyprusized" for the long term, how the "krajina" would remain a state within a state, and so on.

Who Is in the Abyss?

The great conversationalist of former communist television parties, Professor Zvonimir Separovic, said at a recent press conference of Action for Croatia "Libertas": "Croatia is on the brink of the abyss, and it is high time for a change."

Despite his ample public presence, Mr. Separovic fell into the abyss in the last elections, to stick with his gloomy metaphor. As a politician who should reconcile himself with the criteria and outcome of elections, he is not on the brink of the abyss, but rather in the abyss itself. He was pushed into that abyss by democracy, against which he is now vindictively retaliating by depicting Croatia as a country "on the brink of the abyss." This projection of one's personal political fate onto the fate of the country that did not elect him represents an elevation of the person over the general. If similar words coming from him did not attract voters—and he repeated them in a multitude of interviews and other public appearances before the election as well—then the question is: At whom are these words directed? Mr. Separovic knows, or could know, something about a certain other country's public opinion, so that if Croatian voters are not listening to him it is logical to conclude that he is expecting his words to strike a responsive chord outside Croatian democracy. Since at the same press conference Dr. Marko Veselica compared Tudjman to Pavelic, Separovic's and Veselica's words, taken together—and they should be taken together, because they belong to the same association and spoke at the same place from behind the same table—lead one to conclude that Croatia is on the brink of the abyss because Tudjman is similar to Pavelic.

Since both Dr. Separovic and Dr. Veselica are directly or indirectly linked to the effort by a large part of the opposition, in both Zagreb and Croatia as a whole, to at least make Tudjman teeter if he cannot be brought down entirely, it is not difficult to conclude that the election results are being alternately exploited and repudiated by combining certain electoral successes by part of the opposition with denunciations of Tudjman. They are exploited when there is a need to invoke them, but they are repudiated when Tudjman is compared to Pavelic. Because when Tudjman is compared to Pavelic, this sends the message that it is not at all important that Tudjman was elected president; rather, what is important is that he resembles Pavelic.

Trafficking in Martyrdom

If Mr. Veselica feels that Tudjman is a dictator, why would he not compare him to Tito? The reason is very simple: In the memory—or assessment—of the public in a certain other country, the effectiveness of such a comparison would not be nearly as great as what Veselica expects from his comparison with Pavelic.

What gives weight to Veselica's words? The fact that he was a Croatian martyr, that he spent 12 years in prison. When this sort of Veselica compares Tudjman

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to Pavelic, he and the circle of people around him expect that sort of conclusion from those who can be counted on to arrive at such a conclusion. And that conclusion is this: If Marko Veselica, that great Croatian national martyr, compares Tudjman to Pavelic, then Tudjman really is a fascist.

It is precisely this Marko Veselica that was needed by both Dr. Zvonimir Separovic and part of the opposition, which will capitalize on and exploit his martyrdom. Through this, the national innocence of that part of the opposition will be fully protected, and through this the person who attributes national blamelessness to that part of the opposition will promote his political image, at least politically, and that person is Dr. Veselica himself, while others protected by him and his martyrdom will clearly profit politically.

The IDS [Istrian Democratic Assembly], the HSS [Croatian Peasants Party], Dr. Zdravko Tomac, and Dr. Zvonimir Separovic—all of them are offsetting their lack of exceptional patriotic capital with Dr. Marko Veselica's penal servitude. Marko Veselica is the biggest capitalist of Croatian political martyrdom, but he is also a politician who has been unable to invest that capital in politics and succeed in it, so that now he is contributing that capital to those who have none, even though they do have something else that allows Dr. Veselica himself to personally exploit that capital to a certain extent.

Of course, they are also anticipating that no one in the Croatian public will question Dr. Marko Veselica's status as a martyr, despite the fact that he himself draws it into question by trafficking in that martyrdom politically.

What then is this all about? Dr. Franjo Tudjman has nowhere to flee from Croatia, from the Croatian voters, from the Croatian nation. That Croatia, that electorate, that nation has passed judgment on him in previous elections, will pass judgment on him in the next elections, and will pass judgment on his legacy for the next 50, 100, 500 years. Tudjman is transitory, over the course of time, just as we all are, so that it is extremely immoral and extremely unpatriotic to put Tudjman on trial or judge him by comparing him to what was in place at an earlier time, to what was a symbol of the negative, to what has gone down in world history as Croatian evil, in a world that is involved in the destiny of Croatia. Comparing Tudjman to Pavelic is all the more immoral when it comes from a person who can make such a comparison seem convincing because of his personal fate!

I am beginning to think that Croatian journalism, in part through the announcement by the Board of Ethics of the Croatian Society of Journalists, is attaining precious democratic and moral superiority over politics, because that announcement expressed a critique of people within its own ranks, of colleagues, and in connection with politics; meanwhile, political circles have not expressed such a critique of themselves, nor have they assumed any moral, patriotic, or democratic obligations, not in the form of sanctions, but rather as public access to their own processes. What sort of critique of itself would politics have to express in order for it to be congruent to the journalists' critique of themselves?

Denunciation to the International Public

If colleague Roman Latkovic wrote something that goes beyond the broadest bounds of the right to free speech, moving into something contrary to that freedom, and if the HND Board of Ethics affirms that—not as a sanction, threat, or something similar, but rather as a position—then both Latkovic and the journalists' association are indeed completely at liberty to write anything, but also to pass judgment on everything that is written without anyone imperiling anyone else.

Is it possible for there to be a board of ethics for Croatian politics that would affirm that in the struggle for voters one cannot or should not use means that are not really part of the struggle for voters, but rather a struggle against Croatia? Because comparing someone who has been elected, and who will have to seek electoral reaffirmation, to something that, in and of itself, provokes animosity toward Croatia in the rest of the world is not democratic, but rather denunciatory. And it is denunciatory in terms of its effect not on the Croatian public, but rather on a certain other public, which to some extent and in some way is expected to pass judgment on Croatia or take action there.

A panel discussion featuring Vladimir Bebic and Silvije Degen was recently held at the Culture and Information Center in Zagreb, where there was a great deal of Serb-style talk and ekavian [eastern Serbo-Croatian dialect] chanting. The incredible range of the united opposition forces, within which a struggle for power in Zagreb is also taking place, finds a seemingly inconceivable amount of sameness here by linking this Serb-style talk to Separovic's "conclusion" about Croatia "on the brink of the abyss" and to Veselica's comparison of Tudjman and Pavelic. The opposition's "democratic" activity thus ranges from Serb-style talk at Zagreb's KIC to an inconceivable action alleged in an interview by Ivan Bozicevic, an HDZ representative to the Zagreb Assembly. Here is what he says when asked whether the "Zagreb affair" could have an effect on Croatia's admission to the Council of Europe: "That is only partially true. Such talk is being floated by the very people acting according to the scenario 'the worse things

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are, the better for us.' Without authorization, Tomac recently called together the diplomatic corps, and in Germany he visited the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] headquarters and suggested that the Zagreb affair be brought up before the Bundestag."

Who then wants to hold power in Zagreb when the opposition struggle for that power links and combines Serb-style talk at the KIC, the metaphor of Croatia "on the brink of the abyss," comparisons of Tudjman with Pavelic, efforts to have Zagreb discussed in the Bundestag, and leaks of nonexistent and existing differences and conflicts within the HDZ in the pages of GLOBUS, NACIONAL, and other publications?

Is the (Zagreb) voter in favor of this chaos?

Croatia: New Mayor of Zagreb City Elected

LD2103194096 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent Majda Ivkovic] The Zagreb City Assembly has elected Drazen Budisa as the new mayor of Zagreb by a majority of votes. The new deputies are Matija Ocic and Vesna Vesligaj.

Drazen Budisa is the fourth and final candidate for mayor of the alliance of seven opposition parties. His election was preceded at today's session by a vote of no confidence in Mayor Marina Matulovic-Dropulic, which, as the deputies of the alliance pointed out, is the statutory right of the Assembly. The election of the new mayor came after Croatian President Franjo Tudjman refused to endorse the election of the third candidate, Ivo Skrabalo, and his two deputies.

At the start of the session today, there was a heated debate about the proposal of the Club of Deputies of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] on the dismissal of Zagreb Assembly President Zdravko Tomac. The reason was his letter to the Council of Europe, which had not had the agreement of all deputies. However, the proposal on his dismissal was rejected by a majority of votes. [passage omitted]

Croatia: Replacement of HRT Director Provokes Disputes

96BA0194C Zagreb HRVATSKI OBZOR in Serbo-Croatian 5 Feb 96 p 21

[Article by Marko Barisic: "Vrdoljak and Parac Trade Accusations: It Is Not Known Who Is More Extravagant"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *New Director Mudrinic has been advised by the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] that under no circumstances should he refer to the "continuity" of his predecessors upon his assumption of duties.*

Through a majority of votes in the Assembly House of Representatives, the general director of Croatian Radio and Television [HRT], Ivan Parac, has been dismissed from that position, and the former minister of maritime affairs, transportation, and communications, Ivica Mudrinic, has been appointed to replace him. Opposition deputies refused to participate in the voting (they left the chamber) because the HDZ refused to allow discussion of Parac's financial report. This is the epilogue to a nearly two-day "tug of war" over the dismissal and appointment of the HRT director.

First of all, the Assembly services duplicated—allegedly by mistake—Parac's report on Croatian Radio and Television's finances and left them in the deputies' seats (30 copies). Then Milas called for a recess and convened a meeting of the HDZ caucus. The meeting was held behind closed doors, and the chamber was guarded by reinforcements of Assembly security officers. And that is where it all began.

Where Is the Money From Jurisiceva Street?

One Assembly official says it had been a long time since there had been so much shouting and uproar at a party gathering. Anyone passing at some distance from the chamber could easily hear Vrdoljak's ponderous words concerning Parac's "extravagance." Mention was made of cars, clothing, renovations to the director's office, and certain other things that it is not advisable to mention. According to Vrdoljak, Parac was unstinting when it came to money from the state budget. And when it was thought that the HDZ caucus, under Vrdoljak's influence, would simply "finish off" Parac, Marija Peakic Mikuljan, an assistant to the general director and a high-ranking HDZ official, took the floor. She pointed out that the harm suffered from purchases of clothing and cars is nowhere near that sustained through the conclusion of detrimental business contracts, which is what happened while Vrdoljak was the director. After her, Parac spoke, and he asked Vrdoljak why the money from the sale of the HRT building on Jurisiceva Street was left in the hands of the buyer, the Postal Bank. How is it, Parac continued, that to this day we are unable to get interest on the 20 million German marks [DM] that were to be paid? Why was the contract for renovation on HRT buildings (new facades) awarded to a Swiss company for nearly DM4 million, even though local companies submitted bids to do the same work for half the price? Parac continued to enumerate his allegations, Vrdoljak responded from his seat, there was a tense atmosphere in the chamber, and some HDZ

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deputies whispered among themselves, referring to the commission fee.

The meeting went on for a long time, with insults and curses that are rarely heard, but in the end the opinion that Parac's report should not be brought up for debate by the Assembly prevailed. That evening there was also a meeting of the HDZ Presidency, which issued a public statement urging a halt to the mutual accusations, since that is harmful to the ruling party. Both Vrdoljak and Parac were verbally ordered not to discuss this subject with the media. For now, they are obeying those instructions.

New Image

But the Assembly clash between Vrdoljak and Parac has damaged both of them. Specifically, both of them have put forward information about the other that is apparently authentic and that compromises not only the two of them, but also the HRT as an institution. Among their party colleagues, moreover, both of them have, to put it very mildly, gained a new image that is not very far removed from the assertion that these are rather corrupt state officials.

Thus, after all these events Ivan Parac will scarcely be able to walk his dog on the Jarun trails without a care in the world, as he has in the past. Nor will his bow tie be able to help him much in restoring his former dignity, because he did not need to renovate Vrdoljak's office immediately upon his arrival, when he refused to even sit in Vrdoljak's chair. Everything was thrown out and the office was furnished in keeping with his tastes. And that was certainly not cheap. It is true that he did have to buy a new car (because Vrdoljak allegedly took the official BMW with him), but he did not need an entire fleet. Although one might wonder whether the HRT should perhaps fix up its motor pool, in view of the fact that it spends DM2.5 million annually on rental cars.

Still, we almost passed over the most important thing from the HDZ caucus meeting. At one point, Vrdoljak criticized Parac for firing a certain Kovacevic, who was the HRT financial controller. Parac explained that he did that because he had gotten his hands on documents indicating that Kovacevic was a KOS [Yugoslav Counterintelligence Service] agent. Vrdoljak denied that. But then Djuro Perica took the floor and said that it was this same Kovacevic who inflicted the worst torture on him when he was under police investigation....

After that, words became superfluous.

New director Mudrinic has been advised by the HDZ that under no circumstances should he refer to the "continuity" of his predecessors upon his assumption of duties.

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FYROM: Liberals Want Assembly Dissolved

AU2103140596 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 19 Mar 96 p 3

[Article by Z. Petrov: "Liberals Ask for Dissolution of Assembly"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 16 March, the Republican Board of the Liberal Party [LP] issued a statement to the media in which the party's official parliamentary group promoted itself to parliamentary opposition, while from now on former Assembly Chairman Stojan Andov, the president of the LP, will be the head of the party's group in the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

There was nothing new in this part of the statement that the public did not already know, because as a logical epilogue to a number of political events connected with the prime minister's initiative to reshuffle the government, which was completed 15 days ago; the Liberals were forced to abandon the coalition and the parliamentary majority, while Stojan Andov resigned.

Four Initiatives

The Liberals' statement did, however, attract the public's attention with some initiatives of their parliamentary group, now a classical opposition in parliament. The initiatives involve a draft proposal to dissolve the Macedonian Assembly, a demand to the government to provide information on the unsafe living, personal and property security conditions, as well as a draft proposal to set up a commission on the investigation into the assassination attempt against President Gligorov, and a draft proposal to set up a commission on public supplies. These initiatives are priorities in the LP deputies' work in the opposition and they undoubtedly attract the public's attention. We asked Stojan Andov, the new head of the LP group in the Assembly, to give us an explanation.

In his opinion, these LP initiatives are generally well known because at the 39th session its Assembly representatives emphasized that they would start an initiative to dissolve the Assembly. According to Stojan Andov, the explanation is simple—"the members of the Assembly who were elected from the Alliance for Macedonia list do not enjoy the citizens' confidence any more." "The voters," he says, "have been cheated because they voted for one list and now a completely different group of people are in power." As he said, this is the basic reason for the initiative of the LP parliamentary group, which has already collected 28 signatures, and now the draft proposal has to be well formulated. "Our initiative," Andov said, "is to dissolve the Assembly by the end of August or beginning of September, by which time the complete legislature on elections has to be finished, and thus the parliamentary elections can be held at the same time as the local elections, with the aim of avoiding double expenses."

Regarding the demand for information about the unsafe living, personal and property security conditions of the citizens of the Republic of Macedonia, the top LP man informed us that the citizens' lack of security is becoming more and more evident every day. "A lot of people come to our party every day, mainly from Titov Veles, Strumica, Prilep, Bitola, and from our organizations in Gostivar and Debar, claiming that their lives, houses, and property have never been so much imperiled as they are now," Andov pointed out. In his opinion, the citizens are reacting and they are expressing revulsion against the increasing number of murders, violations, thefts, and assaults, most of which are never clarified or remain without consequences for the perpetrators. Andov believes that this is the reason for the increasing feeling of insecurity and fear among the citizens for the further survival of all the values that are guaranteed by the Constitution.

What Stage Has the Investigation Into the Assassination Attempt Reached?

As for the draft proposal to set up a commission on the investigation into the assassination attempt against President Gligorov, Andov explained that this initiative is based on the fact that this event has now been troubling the state for nearly six months. "If this question is not raised, it means that neither the members of parliament nor the parliament itself are interested in the course of the investigation in the assassination attempt, and this is an event that can mark a turning point in our history," the head of the Liberals' parliamentary group says. "I think that every member of the Assembly will have an uneasy feeling if the parliament is not informed about the stage which the investigation into the assassination attempt has reached and, in a certain way, the members of the Assembly will be accomplices if the investigative bodies fail to do their job," Andov emphasizes.

In his opinion, if a commission for this case is not formed, the Assembly will be remembered for its silence regarding the assassination attempt against the head of state, which would be a great disgrace for this top legislative body.

The initiative to set up another commission—for public supplies—is based on the LP's findings that around 300 million German marks were spent in the last two years for public supplies. It is very important to check the system that was applied then, whether there are any regulations in this field, whether there have been any

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initiatives to change something in this sphere. "Finally, we must see what has been accomplished in practice, what are the procedures for public supplies, as well as the methodology used, the documentation, the control, whether all subjects on the market had equal chances, whether there was any foreign competition," Stojan Andov, president of the LP and head of its parliamentary group in the Macedonian Assembly said.

When we asked whether setting up these commissions could fully open the problems, the questions, and the initiatives, considering the negative experience in the past period (a similar commission was formed in the former parliament on the occasion of the events at Bit-Pazar, but it never met), Andov replied that the success of these commissions lies in a very important element—they should be headed by the proposer of the initiative, which would also have the majority, that is, the LP. According to him, this is the ordinary practice in parliamentary systems. "If we choose another alternative—that is, equality of parliamentary forces, then the commission will lose the grounds for its existence, and the initiator will not be able to check its idea with the Assembly," Andov says.

This explanation mainly leads to the points on which the engagement of the Liberals as opposition in the Macedonian Assembly will be concentrated, and its subsequent sessions will show how capable the party is in fulfilling its intentions.

FYROM: National Convention Leader Explains Goals

AU2103145796 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 18 Mar 96 p 3

[Interview with Academician Nikola Kljusev, president of the National Convention, by Sonja Lazetic; place and date not given: "Guardians of Macedonian Dignity"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After a pause of nearly two years, the National Convention recently resumed its activities. We discussed the reasons for its formation, what led it to suspend its activities, its numerous ideas, orientation, and particularities as an association, with Nikola Kljusev [first prime minister after independence], its president.

[Lazetic] The National Convention was promoted in June 1994, when it attracted public attention with a rally for the protection of the constitutional name, following which there was a pause of 21 months. Why?

[Kljusev] The initiative to form the Convention was motivated by the need to protect the trademarks of the state and nation, above all the name "Republic of Macedonia" [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], which was one of the reasons for the Declaration on the protection of the name at the rally in "Universal Hall" in June 1994. Around 160 professors, academicians, outstanding businessmen, and intellectuals signed the Declaration, as well as a great number of citizens, upon which the National Convention was formed. We did this in the same year in the Macedonian National Theater, at a large rally, when the bodies, the Presidency, the Council, and the 32 presidents of different forums were elected. On the basis of the Constituent Assembly, we prepared documentation for the registration and the Statute of the Convention. It is here that the unpleasant events took place. First of all, the agencies of the Interior Ministry refused to register the Convention. They asked some banal questions, for instance why we advocated a nation state and why we put the flag on the seal. We did not object, and now we have a seal without the flag—this is not a problem at all. At that time, we appealed to the government's commission, which also refused the registration, so we were compelled to appeal to the Supreme Court. Nearly 21 months passed before the Supreme Court decided in our favor, and now we have managed to complete registration without any changes.

[Lazetic] At a recent news conference, you said that you were proud because you did not inform the international public about the event.

[Kljusev] If we analyze all the events and tendencies in that period, we can conclude that there must have been some other background. How is it possible for such a large number of intellectuals and citizens who want to cooperate with the National Convention to be deprived of their rights while other organizations and associations are being registered? This motivated a dozen lawyers to suggest that the international public should be informed about who is obstructing the Macedonian intellectuals' initiative for the formation of their association. However, a number of us who headed the Convention believed that it would be a disgrace to attack the state and thus increase its difficulties. So, we decided to wait and see how far this process would go. It was our pleasure when the Supreme Court ruled against the executive power's decision regarding registration.

[Lazetic] Do you believe that the ban was due to political tendencies?

[Kljusev] I believe that such enigmas should not be sought because the intentions were honest, and we had started a program that dealt with our reality. It was an affirmation of the struggle for the maintenance of the Macedonian state, for the affirmation of its institutions, for social progress, for civilized political and democratic

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dialogue, for the basic questions concerning the survival and development of our state.

[Lazetic] Your Convention is the first association of this kind we have. Can you explain its particularities?

[Kljusev] The elementary strategic value for which the National Convention is striving is the maximum affirmation of man as a free and inviolable individual, with the right to his own political, economic, and creative freedom in conditions of constructing the legal principles of the state. We refer to "man" and his duties only if he is a citizen of the Republic of Macedonia, and his citizenship defines him as such. We cannot accept compound nouns like interethnic relations or national minorities; we accept ethnic situations and minority rights in the spirit of the international institutions. It is beyond dispute that the Convention regards Macedonia as a nation state, but it does not violate the rights of the ethnic groups who deserve it and who are accepted as its own citizens. It is very important for the Convention to try to create opportunties for public debate on the construction of mechanisms in the economy, investment policy, taxation system, and social welfare. Particularly in the sphere of social welfare, which is becoming ever more important because of the great impoverishment and unemployment, which create dependent families that could create a barrier in the way of the changes ahead of us. We are aware that the problems cannot be solved overnight, so why not mobilize the forces in the Convention to articulate these problems clearly? It is not the privilege of some political parties or state bodies only. I see the Convention as a specific association that must lobby with its own proposals, programs, and ideas. It could also be useful for the state apparatus if it were to evaluate the spiritual wealth that is expressed in a great number of the Convention's forums. The more wisdom the state and the parties show in extracting the benefit from our views, the better for them. This will help to counteract the tendencies that are associated with the Convention.

[Lazetic] In spite of your association's many activities, it seems that your main goal is to safeguard the state's current name and achieve national reconciliation. Is this true?

[Kljusev] One of the most important objectives is that there must not be any compromises concerning the name. Macedonia must keep its constitutional name. In two weeks, we are going to organize a conference and invite all political parties and specialists to express their views. However, it is a question whether any discussions leading to negotiations on the name should be held at all. We will see the opinion of the ruling parties and of the opposition, and we will take into the account the necessary arguments, but we will remain consistent and not accept a compromise. We support the statement of Prime Minister Crvenkovski, who recently told the new government that there can be no discussion about changing the name. The name is interwoven in the genesis of our existence, and the people voted for this at the referendum. The National Convention has another basic objective, which is national reconciliation. All the divisions and propaganda in our recent history have left deep scars on our life. Perhaps some people were misled, but others deliberately went to the wrong side.

[Lazetic] Allow me to comment, but you have a very large variety of activities. In which way and with what means do you plan to accomplish your goals?

[Kljusev] First of all through our forums for economy, law, policy, culture, sport, ecology, and so on (there are 32 of them), which will have an impact on the stipulation of norms and acts, as well as on public opinion. We will give the advantage to scientific judgment, and not to improvisations. This is how we intend to promote our communal assemblies, which are in the process of being founded throughout the country.

[Lazetic] Are you not afraid that the Convention may be subject to partisan influence considering the party affiliation of many of its members?

[Kljusev] We have not allowed any members of the higher leadership of a political party to be in the leadership of the Council, but they are allowed to participate in the forums. It is logical that some parties are more inclined to the Convention, but it is quite appalling when you say "national," because then you are labeled nationalist. Aggressive nationalism is another thing and it aspires to subordination, and this is what we do not want, because this is not in the spirit of the Macedonian people. We have been enslaved so many times and that is why we have such a strong sense of pride and will not let the Convention become an arena for quarrels with other minorities. We would be glad if members of other ethnic groups who feel themselves to be citizens of the Republic of Macedonia were to join the Convention. Our desire is to reach an agreement on a national level and to create a better future.

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Poland: Commentary Praises Christopher Statement on NATO

WS2203115296 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Mar 96 p 7

[Commentary by Ernest Skalski: "They Pushed It Too Far"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The widespread belief that the West wants to stop the process of accepting new NATO members has been disproved. Warren Christopher clearly stated that we will be admitted regardless of Russia's stance. The NATO secretary general stated exactly the same thing in talks with Yeltsin. Moscow's ever harsher "net" is no longer effective. The West would like to help Yeltsin, but the political price has become too high. NATO leaders have realized that a withdrawal—if only temporary—of the alliance declaration on a definite enlargement could cost them their credibility. They may pretend they are not aware of the fact that Russia has neither the right of veto nor the power to exercise it, until the moment it becomes clear that a state disguising itself as an empire is beginning to manipulate them. The Moscow diplomats have pushed it too far. The statements made by Christopher and Solana are good news for Poland and neighboring states aspiring to NATO membership. This means that even Yeltsin's highly unlikely victory will not hold back the process of NATO expansion. The rise of Zyuganov to the presidency could accelerate it, especially because his communists had the Duma pass a resolution nullifying the liquidation of the USSR. This does not mean that all Western politicians will be eager to see us in NATO. Some will continue to apply the brakes. We can only please them if, having declared our willingness to become members, we continue to impede the adaptation process at home and neglect the required formal procedures.

Poland: Rosati on Country's Progress Toward EU, NATO

LD2203130796 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1105 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Foreign Minister Dariusz Rosati said a tendency to seek agreement with Poland on a range of issues had recently emerged. [passage omitted]

Minister Rosati said that Poland did not expect any change of position by the Moscow authorities before the presidential election in Russia on Poland's admission to NATO.

Speaking on Polish Radio, Rosati stressed, however, that Poland was happy with the position of NATO Secretary General Javier Solana, who, during his Moscow visit, unequivocally spoke in favor of admitting the Central and East European states to the alliance.

[Begin Rosati recording] We are glad that Mr. Solana took a very tough position in Moscow, that a decision to expand NATO was made, that NATO will expand. And it is good that particular matters are spoken about openly in Moscow without leaving any doubts.

Second, we realized that, in this particular period before the presidential election, we cannot expect any breakthrough or any particularly sensational news. Therefore, we can say that both sides have kept their initial positions, and that is what we expected. [end recording]

Minister Rosati added that there was no direct link between Poland's striving for membership in the EU and NATO.

[Begin Rosati recording] These are two processes: Poland's entry to NATO and Poland's entry to the union, both of which, in a sense, are running concurrently. They are, of course, linked together, but the factors influencing both processes are different to a large degree. We have no signs that, for example, there existed a dependence that we could join the union only after we have joined NATO or vice versa.

On the other hand and with all certainty, we can say that both these processes support one another and that any progress on the road to membership in the union helps our entry to NATO and vice versa. [end recording]

Poland: Bundestag Defense Commission on Polish Army

LD2103221296 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2000 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Polish Army is on the best possible road to NATO, Klaus Rose, chairman of the Bundestag defense commission, said at the Sejm.

[Correspondent Robert Kowalski] Klaus Rose, head of the Bundestag delegation, met the Polish ministers of foreign affairs and defense, the chief of the General Staff of the Polish Armed Forces, and the head of the National Security Bureau [BBN]. Rose said that democratic, parliamentarian control over the Army is guaranteed in Poland.

Rose and the chairman of the Sejm Defense Commission, Jerzy Szmajdzinski, contended that close cooperation between the Polish and German parliaments in the adjustment of laws pertaining to defense issues as required by NATO was necessary.

Jerzy Szmajdzinski said that similar meetings will be held with representatives of other European parliaments.

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Asked if the so-called Jozef Oleksy case could thwart Polish plans to join NATO, Rose said that this should not have any impact. The Bundestag deputy said that the timetable for the Central European states' admission to NATO should be known before the year was out.

Poland: Rosati Sees New Trends in Relations With Russia

LD2203101696 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0900 GMT 22 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Dariusz Rosati said that a tendency to seek agreement with Poland on many issues has recently appeared in Russian foreign policy. Speaking on Polish radio, Minister Rosati admitted, however, that the Russian side is at the same time willfully putting forward proposals that are unacceptable to Poland—for example, the creation of the CSCE-2 and the construction of an extraterritorial highway.

Dariusz Rosati added that the plan is to create the impression that Poland is a difficult partner to come to terms with. According to Minister Rosati, this is a kind of game that is a normal part of diplomatic contacts.

Poland: French Army Chief of Staff Arrives for Visit

LD2103131896 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1200 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] General Jean Douin, chief of staff of the French Army, has arrived in Warsaw at the invitation of General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of staff of the Polish Army. During his three-day visit, issues connected with Poland's admission to NATO and bilateral military and technical cooperation will be discussed. Experiences resulting from joint maneuvers conducted within Partnership for Peace will also be the subject of talks at the Polish staff headquarters. General Douin is also to be received by President Aleksander Kwasniewski.

Poland: Defense Minister Dobrzanski Visits Bosnia

WS2103140396 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 21 Mar 96 p 3

[Report by "LUZ" under the "In Poland" rubric: "MON Heads to Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Defense Minister Stanislaw Dobrzanski, together with the defense ministers of Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden, is flying to Bosnia this morning. They will visit the IFOR [Implementation Force] Polish-Nordic Brigade. They will discuss current developments and the future of Bosnia and will then split off to visit the posts where their men are stationed. More than 660 Poles are currently serving in Bosnia. All expenses are being covered by the Ministry of National Defense. Sending another battalion to build roads in the former Yugoslavia is being considered. "This will be possible only if funds are raised abroad because we cannot find money at home," Dobrzanski told ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

Poland: Prime Minister Meets Top Thai Officials in Bangkok

LD2103225696 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 2000 GMT 21 Mar 96

[Passages contained within quotation marks are recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The contents of the Polish-Thai agreement on countermeasures against drug smuggling have been agreed to in Bangkok. But the main subject of Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz's talks with the Thai prime minister was economics. [passage omitted]

[Cimoszewicz] "We established that, in view of a lack of balance in trade between our countries, the Thai authorities will give support and work on greater participation of Polish businesses, Polish companies in various projects in Thailand."

[Correspondent Michal Maliszewski] In the immediate future, we will be able to obtain a Thai visa at Bangkok airport, which will certainly encourage Polish tourists to stay there.

At the meeting between Thai businessmen and the prime minister, the discussion focused on banks' support in granting credit to Polish investment.

[Cimoszewicz] "The issue here was, among other things, Thai Government support for direct contacts, direct cooperation of banks."

[Maliszewski] [Passage omitted] Bangkok is also one of the East Asian cities from which heroin is sent to Europe, including to Warsaw.

[Cimoszewicz] "This is a phenomenon requiring very resolute countermeasures. We are looking for direct cooperation in this matter with many countries."

[Maliszewski] Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz was also received by Phumiphon Adunyadet, the king of Thailand, who has reigned there for 50 years. [passage omitted]

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Poland: Court Overturns Verdict in Priest Murder Case

LD2103195796 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Warsaw Court of Appeals has overturned the not guilty verdict of Wladyslaw Ciaston and Zenon Platek, generals of the former Security Service [SB], with regard to the charge of incitement to murder Father Jerzy Popieluszko and of directing this atrocity. The case will return to the Voivodship Court [Warsaw] for renewed consideration. The chairman, Judge Henryk Gradzik, read out the decision:

[Begin Gradzik recording] Please stand. The verdict will now be announced. In the name of the Polish Republic: On 21 March 1996, the Appeal Court in Warsaw, Second Department—Penal—after familiarizing itself with the case of Wladysalw Ciaston and Zenon Platek in light of the appeal raised by the plenipotentiaries of the auxiliary prosecutors, Marianna and Wladyslaw Jozef Popieluszko, made against the verdict of the Voivodship Court in Warsaw dated 19 August 1994, overturns the appealed verdict in respect to both of the accused and passes the case to the Voivodship Court in Warsaw for renewed consideration. [end recording]

The defense lawyers for the accused had applied for confirmation of the not guilty verdict. The plenipotentiaries of the auxiliary prosecutors, who had demanded that the matter be passed once more to the court of the first instance or to the prosecutor's office, felt that, in declaring Ciaston and Platek not guilty, the evidence indicating their participation in the atrocity had been treated too lightly.

Poland: Ministry Estimates Worth of National Assets

WS2103130296 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Mar 96 p 7

[Article by Ada Kostrz-Kostecka: "Shares, Funds, Residuals; How Much Are the National Assets Worth?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Last year the Privatization Ministry estimated national assets remaining under the proprietorship of the State Treasury to be worth 75 billion zlotys [Z]. The most recent calculation shows they are worth Z141.8 billion.*

The above figures were calculated on the basis of the financial results of companies over 11 months of 1995 and a reappraisal of their property. The number of companies has changed since the previous estimates were carried out (at the end of 1994).

Out of a total of 3,643 state companies and single proprietorship companies of the State Treasury, 21 companies of the first type and 163 companies of the second have a capital gap (negative fund balance). They should be liquidated, declared insolvent, or restructured. The Ministry claims that their value should be considered nil, and, thus, they cannot be included in estimates of the value of national assets.

Counted among the national assets were 3,282 state companies, 3,119 of which have a positive funds balance. The combined total of funds in state companies was Z72 billion. The total net financial balance after 11 months of 1995 was Z1.1 billion. As many as 1,746 companies—only those that had a positive balance—attained a financial gain in the amount of Z2.7 billion.

Moreover, national assets include 361 single proprietorship companies of the State Treasury (not counting companies included in the National Investment Funds [NFI] project). At the close of last year, 341 companies had a positive capital balance. The capital of companies of the State Treasury amounted to Z46.9 billion. Their net gains for 11 months of last year were Z2.7 billion. Of those companies that attained a positive financial balance, 26 reached Z3.8 billion.

In the case of companies and financial institutions, two-thirds of their net profits were accounted for in calculating the value of their assets, on the assumption that they would strengthen their individual funds (capital). The Ministry of Privatization counted among the national assets 11 financial institutions (nine banks and two insurance companies) with Z10.1 billion in funds and net profits of Z1.8 billion.

Also accounted for were shares held by the State Treasury in companies listed on the stock exchange (Z2.1 billion), "residual estates"—shares held by the State Treasury in companies privatized by the capital method, but not listed on the exchange (Z2.2 billion), and 25 percent of the value of companies included in the NFI project (Z2.9).

According to the Privatization Ministry, state companies are predominantly small firms: 145 companies of the State Treasury and 2,609 state companies have individual funds (capital) worth less than Z10 million. Thus, they should be privatized by the direct method (in line with the provision of Article 37 of the Privatization Law). The total value of assets of companies within this group is Z7.5 billion.

A relatively small number of large companies make up for a large share of national assets worth Z103.2 billion—248 state companies and 162 companies of the State Treasury.

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Poland: Kolodko's Weaker Position, PSL Moves Viewed

WS2203091696 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Mar 96 p 14

[Unattributed report simultaneously carried by the 21 March GAZETA BANKOWA: "Inflation; The Spring Offensive of the PSL"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Grzegorz Kolodko has found himself in deep water. The position of the deputy prime minister and finance minister in the government has been considerably weakened, primarily because of the unfortunate [tax breaks on] gifts.*

There are more troubles: repercussions caused by the refusal to valorize pensions for the fourth quarter of last year. The finance minister's rating has recently dropped very low, not only in the Polish Peasant Party [PSL], where the deputy prime minister was never very popular, but also in the Democratic Left Alliance. It is therefore no wonder that, now that Kolodko has found himself in a really difficult position, the PSL has launched an offensive with unusual zeal. It would not be so bad if the target of the attack were Kolodko himself. The trouble is, the goal is more important.

Here is what new Deputy Prime Minister Miroslaw Pietrewicz conceded in an interview with GAZETA WYBORCZA when he was trying to explain the reasons for his promotion: "The PSL is primarily guided by the interests of the state, not by its own interests. In my opinion, the party began to see the area of economic-social issues as more important than before."

It looks like it really did. In recent days we saw quite a few economic initiatives on the part of PSL politicians. All of them are important for the country.

The most vital are the following:

—the plan to subsidize fuel used by peasants (or, more specifically, the plan to refund the peasants part of the tax that is included in fuel prices);

—the plan to set up a fund to guarantee agricultural loans;

—the plan to include in the Privatization Law a provision that would eliminate foreign majority-stake holders from privatization (unless such investors obtained special permission from the government);

—the plan to introduce regulations that would make it impossible for foreign individuals and companies to freely purchase real estate in Poland;

—the proposal (forced at the forum of the Economic Committee of the Council of Ministers) to shift from the finance minister to the foreign economic cooperation minister the supervision over the institution that, on behalf of the State Treasury, guarantees loans and gives guarantees to exporters.

In addition, we have recently heard about yet another version of the draft for reforming the hard-coal-mining sector, which is being piloted, quite unexpectedly, by Roman Jagielinski, the second [aside from Pietrewicz] PSL-designated deputy prime minister. This draft proposes the establishment of a Mining Restructuring Fund; money for this project would come from a special tax.

As can be seen, in these days, which are so difficult for the finance minister, such issues as the budget, public finances, taxes, and the manner of using national assets have become an area where PSL politicians are showing unusual activeness. In this activeness, PSL politicians are displaying a remarkably utilitarian approach and raising claims that are dangerous for public interests.

Statements made by PSL-designated members of the government openly call into question one of the primary goals of the government's economic policy. "I am afraid," said Deputy Prime Minister Pietrewicz in the aforementioned interview, "that, if we force reduction of inflation, we will at the same time stifle demand-related growth factors, which will result in smaller economic growth and will not allow us to reduce unemployment." He is supported by Foreign Economic Cooperation Minister Jacek Buchacz: "We should certainly reduce inflation; however, this cannot be the primary task of the economy at the moment. A more important task right now is to do our best to maintain the high rate of economic growth and to reduce unemployment" (from an interview with NOWA EUROPA).

We believe that voicing such opinions is inadmissible—for two reasons: because they are detrimental and because they are false. Such views are not tenable either in political or economic terms. The rate of inflation control, as envisioned by the government, is not at all extraordinary. The predicted inflation rate is a result of political haggling that preceded the formation and then the overhaul of the governing coalition. Thus, it is a manifestation of disloyalty to suggest now that prices might go up more than has been envisioned. It also proves a lack of political responsibility.

The analyses of the real relations between the growth rate and inflation, as carried out by the PSL's ministers, are of very poor quality. They use economic arguments that are rather old. There has been considerable progress in economic growth theory recently. Works written by Professor Robert Barro, whose estimates stand out in that they are very cautious, indicate that each percent of inflation reduces in the long term the economic growth rate by 0.02-0.03 percent in real terms. Thus,

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it is true that the lower inflation is at the starting point, the smaller the economic growth increase achieved as a result of decreasing it. In our case, however, reduction of inflation from 20 percent to 7 percent means a 0.3 or 0.4 increase in the gross domestic product in real terms per year. This is quite a lot, particularly if we take into account the fact that even an insignificant increase in the mean economic growth rate brings about considerable improvement in living standards. It follows that all of those people in today's Poland who are speaking about the necessity of tolerating high inflation for the sake of protecting workplaces and cherishing the nominal rate of economic growth are wrong.

Politicians will really face such an alternative only when the inflation rate drops below 7 or 5 percent a year.

The position of the finance minister is weaker. For this reason, anyone who can is trying to reach for the state's coffers. There is also a choir of demagogues to be heard, which is louder than usual. In such a situation, nothing is surprising, except, perhaps, for one thing. We find it difficult to understand why the finance minister keeps trying to wage a fight with the entire world, instead of focusing on quite real opponents.

Poland: Christian-Social Union To Join SLD

WS2103155996 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Mar 96 p 3

[Article by Agata Nowakowska: "29th Grouping Within the SLD? Leftist-Democrat Christians"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The Christian-Social Union [UChS], headed by Kazimierz Morawski, intends to join the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and run on its ticket in the parliamentary elections next year. The party does not mind that the SLD is fighting to liberalize the antiabortion law and that, until recently, it had blocked the passing of the Concordat.*

"This is not worth commenting on," Secretary of the Episcopate Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek told GAZETA WYBORCZA.

Izabella Sierakowska, deputy chairwoman of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland [SdRP]: "We are open to believers. Club discipline does not apply to abortion and the Concordat."

The UChS would join the nearly 30 various groups currently within the SLD.

In the presidential elections, the 7,000-strong UChS supported Aleksander Kwasniewski as an "ecumenical" candidate. It thus came under strict criticism from Andrzej Wojtowicz, head of the Polish Ecumenical Council, which groups major non-Roman Catholic churches in Poland.

The UChS was established in 1989 after the dissolution of the Christian Social Association (founded in 1957), which had always yielded to the authorities of the Polish People's Republic [PRL]. President Morawski was a deputy for 15 years, a member of the State Council, and a leader of the National Unity Front.

Neither the antiabortion law nor the Concordat is seen by the UChS as an obstacle in the way of joining the SLD. "The antiabortion law has to be amended; the majority of women want this. Why should they be forced to go abroad? Is it not better to settle the issue in a more civilized way?" asks Morawski, adding that Polish bishops should follow the example of their French counterparts and promote contraception and sexual education. As for the Concordat, "an interpretation the leftist constituency would find acceptable is needed."

Why the SLD? Because the Freedom Union is internally split and, according to Morawski, is becoming more marginal. The Union of Labor [UP], on the other hand, is uninviting because of its anticlericalism and "[UP Chairman] Ryszard Bugaj's anti-PRL demagoguery."

Arguments that tipped the balance in the SLD's favor are the promotion of "a market economy with a human face," integration with the European structures, and Kwasniewski's and Oleksy's efforts to attain "a historical reconciliation, an agreement with Catholic communities."

SdRP Chairman Jozef Oleksy recently spoke about the need for a party wing consisting of Christian leftists and extended an invitation for church followers to join the SdRP.

Christian-National Union Spokesman Michal Kaminski: "The communists always tried to form a surreptitious 'Catholic' group in order to strike at the Catholic communities."

Poland: Labor Law Amendments To Help With EU Integration

96EP0034B Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 17-18 Feb 96 p 10

[Interview with Eugenia Gienieczko, director of the Department of Labor Law in the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, on the newest changes in the Labor Code, by Agata Horbowy; place and date not given: "Guaranteed Minimum Employee Rights"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Horbowy] Recently Sejm has completed its work on updating the Labor Law Code.

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Does this mean that the new Labor Law provisions will correspond to the requirements of the market economy?

[Gienieczko] The current updating of the Labor Law Code has been very extensive. But that is neither the beginning nor the end of such revisions.

Since 1994 new regulations governing collective bargaining agreements have been in effect. The other changes may take effect as soon as this coming May. In January, Sejm completed its work; still pending are the president's signature, publication, and a three-month waiting period before the regulations take effect, with the object of becoming familiar with the new law and drafting new implementing regulations. But this procedure will not apply to all the revisions; some revisions—and here I am probably causing concern to employees—such as those governing vacations and working hours, will probably take effect only as late as 1997. This is not due to any ill-will on the part of lawmakers, but to the principle that such changes cannot be introduced within one year. For consolation, however, let me add that employees interested in the possibility of excluding free Saturdays or additional days off from their credited leave time may, even though the above-mentioned revisions will not take effect until next year, assure their applicability even now by concluding a collective bargaining agreement.

Thus it is possible to negotiate a related protocol to a collective bargaining agreement and, once it is registered, to have such provisions apply in the work place. In this case, I would advise making sure that such a protocol takes effect on registration day but is retroactive to 1 January 1996. Owing to this precaution, all employees of a company will receive equal treatment.

The passage of the updated law by parliament does not mean that the work on reforming labor laws is completed. On the contrary. The government has been placed under the obligation of drafting the premises for a new labor law code as early as this year. That code will be binding in Poland only after the transformation period is completed, meaning after a market economy fully takes form. This is a fundamental purpose for which the new labor law is being created. A second purpose is to introduce—in the future, in Poland—a labor law that is fully integrated with its counterpart in the European Union, that is, one that will meet new standards. Work on it is certain to take several years. Thus, it would be worthwhile to get accustomed to the currently proposed revisions. In considering them it can be said that we have by now altered the nature of the traditional labor law. This means that the new law will define the standards for minimum employee rights.

[Horbowy] The concept of minimum rights makes employees apprehensive. What does it mean in practice?

[Gienieczko] This certainly does not mean that employees are deprived of their existing rights. Some of these rights will be merely modified. This means that the standards established and guaranteed by the state will be equally binding on all employees and all employers. Thus any employer who cannot meet these minimum standards will be forced to shut down his company. These minimum safeguards and privileges can be expanded, to the advantage of employees, in collective bargaining agreements. The concessions which employers grant will largely hinge upon their economic condition. To put it briefly, the minimum standards apply to all, but anything more than that has to be negotiated with the employer.

The new Labor Law Code, which will take effect in a few years, will be formed on the basis of the experience gained with collective bargaining agreements. The aim of that future law is, whenever some right included in collective bargaining agreements gains widespread use, to make it part of the mandatory standards. At the moment this is exemplified by the issue of the severance pay accompanying retirement pensions—a benefit to which most employees in Poland are entitled by now. For this very reason, the lawmakers have incorporated the pertinent provisions in the new Labor Law Code, and by the same token have made such severance pay mandatory for all employers. The draft provision envisages one month's pay. That is not much, but this level was fixed deliberately so that all employers could meet this standard, including even those having just one or two employees. This new provision does concern those employees whose preretirement severance pay has already been fixed at a higher level in a collective bargaining agreement. Thus, at work places where the preretirement severance pay is the equivalent of three or six months of wages, that is what the employees get paid, while at work places where no such type of pay has been previously applicable, employees will be receiving one month's pay upon retiring, in addition to their retirement pensions.

[Horbowy] What else can be negotiated by means of collective bargaining agreements?

[Gienieczko] We believe that also in this way working hours can be reduced. The government's position on this issue during the work on amending the Labor Law Code has been quite firm. The government champions a universal standard workweek of 42 hours. Shortening that workweek any further or introducing any additional days off is left to the discretion of collective bargaining agreements. We believe that precisely by means of such

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agreements the workweek will, in practice, be 40 hours as the standard. And once that standard applies to a majority of employees, it will be incorporated in the Labor Law Code, meaning that the approach followed here is the same as in the West.

[Horbowy] Shortening the workweek is a highly controversial issue. During plenary debates, both deputies and senators have been consistently reverting to the subject of the 40-hour workweek, with the government and employers remaining opposed. How did the trade unionists ultimately let themselves be persuaded?

[Gienieczko] Actually, it was not possible to persuade them completely. Ultimately, they were outvoted by the deputies who agreed with the government-proposed approach. That is because the dispute was not about the issue itself, that is, shortening the workweek, but about ways of achieving it. The government's position persuaded most of the deputies.

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Romania: Army General Summarizes Talks Held in Beijing

AU2103124596 Bucharest COTIDIANUL in Romanian 13 Mar 96 pp 1, 3

[Statement by Army Corps General Dumitru Cioflina, chief of the Army General Staff; place and date not given: "General Cioflina Back From China"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A Romanian military delegation recently paid a visit to the People's Republic of China. Shortly after their return home, the leader of the delegation, Army Corps General Dumitru Cioflina, made the following statement:*

"First I would like to point out that Romanian-Chinese military relations are based on a cooperation protocol concluded in 1993 by the two countries' defense ministries.

"Setting out from that protocol, a generous one as far as the convened objectives are concerned, we elaborate annual cooperation programs. The activities that take place—exchanges of experience and visits at various levels—are related to military schooling, training in various military specialties, culture, medical care, and military equipment. We established the 1996 program, which is a very consistent plan, and we agreed, in addition to what was established initially, that both parties should provide language training over a period of two years for two officers each belonging to the other party. As a result, beginning with autumn this year, we will train two young Chinese officers, in exchange for which two officers of ours will go to school in China. We do this with the intent to ensure the furthering of our relations on the military plane at a level they tend to develop to.

"Our visit took place on the initiative of Colonel General Fu Quanyou, chief of general staff of the Chinese Army. Our meeting with Colonel General Chi Haotian, vice president of the Central Military Committee, state counselor, and minister of national defense, was a very interesting one. He has been to our country and knows us very well. During these talks it was established that our armies are, each in its own country, pillars of stability.

"It is to be noted that as a reflection of what is happening in their society, today's Chinese Army lays special emphasis on quality. We could see this in the domain of communications, military education, and the organization of their operative units.

"Another aspect that attracted my attention was the preoccupation of the Chinese military to produce their own food supplies. They have developed own economic units representing a significant plant- and animal-growing sector, which has beneficial effects in ensuring the troops' food supplies.

"Of course, we also got to know some elements related to their achievements in the domain of military equipment. My impression was that the Chinese defense industry evolved along a trail that is quite similar to that of our defense industry. Currently the Chinese are manufacturing every kind of series of technical military means, starting with the most simple and ending with the ones that are preconditioned by high-technology know-how, such as strategic missiles, ships and submarines equipped with missiles, including the ones equipped with nuclear warheads.

"The military in China are interested in learning about the reform process that is under way in our Army. They know about most of what we have achieved so far, and they appreciate our efforts. They wish to learn more and master several things from the practice of our mountain corps, but they also suggested, and we agreed, to exchange experience at the level of units, between experts in infantry, tanks, artillery, sappers, and communications.

"A very important moment of our visit was when we were received by Mr. Zhu Rongji, vice premier of the State Council. Mr. Zhu Rongji, the highest ranking dignitary dealing with the economic reform in China, knows Romanian reality very well and he shares the optional principles adopted by the Romanian Government with respect to economic reform and the privatization of our national economy. During these talks, too, it became clear that China is rapidly modernizing, and this in every domain—in the economic, social, military one, and so on.

"I would like to conclude by saying, as it was also pointed out by the officials with whom I held talks there, that the cooperation relations between our two armies have good prospects to diversify and develop, which will contribute, on another plane, to the continuous furthering of the traditional ties between the two countries."

Romania: Funar Claims UDMR Wants To Annex Transylvania

AU2103151896 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 15 Mar 96 p 6

[Interview with Gheorghe Funar, PUNR president and Cluj city mayor, by Gena Saru; place and date not

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given: "If We Do Not Wake Up Soon, We Will Lose Transylvania"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Saru] Mr. Funar, you stated that on 15 March we will face large-scale rallies of the ethnic Hungarians in living in Romania. Do you have any concrete information to that effect, or are you rather just supposing?

[Funar] What I meant is the program of demonstrations drawn up by the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] and Budapest. These will be the biggest demonstrations ever organized on Romanian territory by these foes of our nation.

[Saru] Will the PUNR [Romanian National Unity Party] or you, personally, not react in any way?

[Funar] Yes, we will. We have always reacted and will continue to do so. We will demand that the laws are observed, and we will apply those laws.

[Saru] What is your opinion regarding the concept of personal autonomy, which the UDMR has already been presented verbally in Cluj-Napoca?

[Funar] That is a false idea. Basically it serves nothing else but to raise the issue of their territorial autonomy, everything else is mere diversion. That is, the personal autonomy concept, and other ideas, such as the ones raised by Adam Katona referring to the mixed families [Katona rejects the idea of mixed marriages], I mean this so-called dispute among two or three UDMR leaders, are nothing but diversions to mislead the poor Romanians, who tend to believe their maneuvers. However, basically their program is totally different. It is a program that has been worked out very well, conceived very well by Budapest and the UDMR. It is an extremely dangerous program, which is increasingly taking shape every day, and if we do not wake up, within a short while we will lose Transylvania.

[Saru] That is, in your opinion, the goal of the UDMR is to annex Transylvania to Hungary.

[Funar] Of course!

[Saru] You said that the PUNR will propose its own candidate to run for the office of Bucharest general mayor. What would be the chances of a PUNR candidate?

[Funar] We will struggle to win and we will soon announce the name of our candidate, who from the very start will occupy an advantageous position in comparison with the other candidates. We will propose a competitive person for that office, not a sportsman or artist [reference to former tennis start Ilie Nastase running on behalf of the ruling Social Democracy Party of Romania].

[Saru] Will you be lending him a helping hand, considering your experience as mayor of Cluj-Napoca?

[Funar] Of course I will.

[Saru] In what way?

[Funar] With everything necessary to win the race.

[Saru] How do you think the PUNR will evolve in the future? Will it be able to expand or will it rather lose politically?

[Funar] It is my firm belief that we will become increasingly stronger, including in Bucharest.

[Saru] In other words, you do not believe the PUNR will continue to be a "regional" party?

[Funar] No. We will expand throughout the whole country.

Romania: UDMR's Frunda on 'Individual Autonomy' Concept

AU2103152396 Bucharest JURNALUL NATIONAL in Romanian 16 Mar 96 p 6

[Interview with UDMR Senator Gyorgy Frunda by Gena Saru; place and date not given: "Individual Autonomy Observes the Sovereignty of the Romanian State"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Saru] Rumor has it that the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] has instated the "individual autonomy" statute, which, in the interpretation of some persons, is a kind of local autonomy. Is this true?

[Frunda] The news circulated by the press, according to which the UDMR Executive Presidium has passed a statute regarding individual autonomy are false. In January, in Odorheiul Secuiesc, the UDMR Council of Representatives [CRU] decided that within the following two months it should present a draft on individual autonomy. In March, in Cluj-Napoca, a verbal briefing was made about the progress of work on this statute, so that the document should be elaborated in a way that complies with international juridical standards and so that we would be able to use the experience gained in other countries as well. The CRU decided that experts should be invited from other countries, as well as from the CE [Council of Europe], who should help us in the formulation this document. The text is currently being drafted. It seems that within the next month or a month and a half the document will be finalized so that the next CRU session could discuss and pass it. This means the month of May, approximately.

[Saru] And what is this "individual autonomy" all about?

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[Frunda] The things convened in Odorheiul Secuiesc refer to certain general principles, the domains in which we request this kind of autonomy, that is, the cultural and educational domains. However, we did not call it cultural, but rather individual autonomy, because the document tries to expand this form of autonomy over the persons belonging to the ethnic Hungarian minority as well.

[Saru] The UDMR is accused of trying to restrict Romania's sovereignty. Would it be able to do so by this "individual autonomy"?

[Frunda] I would like to emphasize two elements. This kind of autonomy, or, rather, this kind of autonomy too, observes the sovereignty of the Romanian state, as well as its integrity and indivisibility, does not present any perils for the Romanian state, and observes the rights of the ethnic Romanian majority. Therefore if this kind of autonomy is authorized, it will mean that during the [city] council meetings, for example, ethnic Hungarians will be allowed to talk in Hungarian, while the Romanians in the Romanian language, a thing which seems only normal to me.

I hope that certain fundamental rights stipulated by various European and international conventions will be applied in Romania, too. I am referring especially to the free and unrestricted use of the mother tongue in [public] administration and local courts, the right to have access to information and to have contacts with the citizens of the mother country [Hungary]. We, however, are encountering two kinds of obstacles: a psychological one, the source of which is socialist indoctrination, and a second one, which has to do with political willingness.

The resolution of this problem of the ethnic Hungarian minority in Romania is rather a problem of the Romanian majority than that of the Hungarian minority.

Romania: UDMR Leaders Clash Over Alleged Embezzlement

AU2003141196 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Mar 96 p 3

[Article by Lucian Bitai: "Laszlo Tokes and Bela Marko Have Declared Open War on Each Other"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 10 March in Miercurea Ciuc, on the last day of the session of the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania], they discussed the situation of Geza Szocs, former UDMR secretary general, who was recently accused of having embezzled 13,770,000 forints. Geza Szocs, a poet residing in Cluj-Napoca and former employee of Radio Free Europe, was accused of having spent the aforementioned amount for personal reasons, namely to purchase a building in Budapest and another one by Lake Balaton, as well as to publish certain Hungarian-language publications issued in Transylvania. The source of the money is the Transylvania Foundation, an institution set up in May 1990 in Budapest, with the purpose of financially supporting the ethnic Hungarian citizens of Romania [to enable the ethnic Hungarian refugees to return home], but so far the things it was really spent on could not be accounted for, according to a communique, although three years have elapsed since the money was drawn from the account.

Recently the Hungarian legislative appointed Geza Szocs to the oversight body of the Hungaria Television Public Foundation curatorship, to which the DUNA television company also belongs. This triggered a vehement reaction on behalf of the UDMR, which considers that "Geza Szocs does not represent the ethnic Hungarians of Transylvania." In a statement made on Sunday [10 March], during the CRU [Council of UDMR Representatives] session, Bela Marko said that he had sent a letter to the speaker of Parliament in Budapest, in which he points out that he does "not agree either with the way in which this appointment was made, or with the person who was appointed." The reason invoked by Bela Marko was the fact this issue had not been talked over in any way with the UDMR leadership. The proposal to appoint Geza Szocs was made by FIDESZ, the Federation of Young Democrats, one of the principal political parties in Hungary. Mr. Marko also stated that the conflict thus created between the UDMR and the FIDESZ was later cleared in a meeting during which it was established that Mr. Szocs is not a member of that body representing the ethnic Hungarians living in Romania, but rather he was appointed there merely in his capacity as a public personality....

Referring to the accusations on the embezzlement of the 13,770,000 forints (290 million lei,) Mr. Bela Marko requested that investigations should be initiated to look into the matter either by the UDMR Oversight Commission or any other control body specially set up to this end. In his answer Mr. Geza Szocs personally requested that such investigations should be carried out "not because I am give in to the proposal made by the president, but rather because I personally wish that this should be done." The Cluj poet went on to accuse Dezso Abraham, the signatory of the "unearthing communique," claiming that Abraham had "embezzled 3 million forints from the Cluj UDMR branch."

Referring to the building he purchased in Budapest, Geza Szocs pointed out that one part of it was supposed to belong to the UDMR and that that party's two presidents had also visited it a longer time ago, but

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later they ceased to show any interest in it. "Of course, concluded the former UDMR secretary general, now it is much easier for them to accuse me of duties that have not been carried out." Reformed Bishop Laszlo Tokes came to the Cluj poet's rescue, asserting that such incidents harm the UDMR's image abroad, and, besides, they also discredit FIDESZ.

The latest CRU session—like the previous ones, too, as a matter of fact—proved that the attributions of the UDMR honorary president, an office currently occupied by Laszlo Tokes, are not clearly defined, and therefore the opposing views of Bela Marko and Laszlo Tokes may lead to conflicts. During the Miercurea Ciuc session the two presidents publicly stated that they have no confidence in each other.

Romania: Funar: Political Parties Bill Favors Separatism

AU2103143896 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Gheorghe Funar, president of the Romanian National Unity Party [PUNR], faxed us a declaration saying that the Law on Political Parties recently passed by Parliament creates a juridical framework favoring political separatism, thus contributing to growing disunion within Romanian society.

Furthermore the document announces that the PUNR legislators will challenge the law in the Constitutional Court, requesting that the latter should eliminate all legal stipulations allowing for the setting up of political parties on the basis of ethnic criteria.

Romania: PDSR Rebuffs PUNR on Political Parties Law

AU2103215196 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] This evening, the Standing Delegation of the PDSR [Party of Social Democracy of Romania] issued a communique in connection with the statement of the PUNR [Party of National Unity of Romania] regarding the endorsement of the Law on Political Parties.

The communique assesses that this statement represents, quote, a serious escalation in the war that lately the PUNR has been waging against the PDSR, aimed at provoking a government crisis and winning political positions that would substitute for the decrease in the PUNR's audience among the electorate.

Without attempting to influence in any way the decision of the Constitutional Court of Romania, which has been notified by the PUNR about certain provisions in the Law on Political Parties, the PDSR regards the PUNR's new statement as an act that will have serious repercussions on Romania, end quote.

The communique issued by the PDSR reminds the PUNR of the fact that our country signed the Framework Convention for protection of national minorities, which, among other things, stipulates that, quote, the sides will ensure the respect for the rights of each person who belongs to a national minority and the freedom to hold peaceful gatherings and freedom of association, freedom of expression, as well as freedom of thinking, conscience, and religion, end quote.

Further, the communique contests point by point the statement issued by the PUNR.

In conclusion, the communique mentions that the PDSR is determined to examine with utmost attention the activity carried out recently by the PUNR in order to draw the necessary conclusions regarding the relations that it should have with that party.

Romania: Smugglers of Radioactive Material Released

LD2003135896 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1226 GMT 20 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Bucharest, 20 Mar (TANJUG)—After being arrested by the Romanian police in an attempt to illegally transfer 15 grams of osmium—rare radiocative material used in military industry, aviation, and medicine—Yugoslav citizens Zivorad Vranic of Belgrade and Aleksandar Neskovic of Nis have been released on bail pending trial.

Colonel Nicolaie Bucur, spokesman for the general inspectorate of the Romanian police, today told TANJUG that they had been arrested on 1 March and released on bail pending trial after five days.

The government daily, VOCEA ROMANIA, first reported the arrest of the two Yugoslavs three days ago without mentioning the date when the incident occurred.

According to Colonel Bucur, Zivorad Vranic and Aleksandar Neskovic were caught near the Romanian-Hungarian border crossing of Borsa at around 1830 [1730 GMT] on 1 March. Five cylinders containing three grams of osmium each were found in a Mercedes driven by Neskovic.

Colonel Bucur denied that a third person had been involved in the smuggling of osmium.

According to Bucur, the investigation that is under way has revealed that Zivorad Vranic, born in 1927 in Smederevo [in Serbia] and now a pensioner and resident

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of Belgrade, and Aleksandar Neskovic, born in 1952 in Nis and a trained mechanic, tried to smuggle the precious metal across the border in order to sell it in the West, where a gram could be sold for around $50,000. A fax order for 20 kilograms of osmium originating from Russia was also found in their possession.

Romanian law envisages at least a three-year jail sentence for this type of crime. Investigation by the Bihor district police responsible for the Borsa border crossing continues.

Romania: Seized Osmium Meant for Frankfurt Market

AU2003194596 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 15 Mar 96 p 1

[Article by Florin Ciucas: "Radioactive Material Seizure—Osmium Worth $3 Million"]

[FBIS Translated Text] At the Bors border crossing point two Serbian citizens, Aleksander Nescovic, aged 44, and Zivorad Vranic, aged 69, were placed under arrest, as five glass vials were found in their car containing radioactive materials. The analysis performed at the chemical laboratory of UM [military unit] 01326 in Oradea confirmed that the vials contained 15 grams of the 187M osmium radioactive isotope. According to the officials investigating the case, osmium is one of the rare and valuable materials on the list of strategic materials whose final destination is under strict control.

Osmium is very expensive. The quantity of 15 grams found with the two Serbs has a value of between $1 million (on the black market) and $3 million. In the Mercedes car that the two were traveling in, the Bors customs officers also found two faxes sent from Germany referring to the circumstances under which the osmium was to be delivered (the ordered quantity was 20 kilograms!) as well as to the quality the merchandise should have.

Zivorad Vranic used to be the director general of an iron and steel mill in the neighborhood of Belgrade, while the source of the osmium they carried was of one the countries belonging to the former CIS [as published]. The probable destination of the material was the black market in Frankfurt.

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Federal

FRY: French Ambassador on FRY, International Community

LD2003204096 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1807 GMT 20 Mar 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, March 20 (TANJUG)—French Ambassador in Belgrade Gabriel Keller on Tuesday [19 March] offered assurances that France will help the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to reintegrate into the international community, primarily by activating its membership to various international institutions.

Keller said this at a meeting in Belgrade with Yugoslav Minister of Development, Science and the Environment Janko Radulovic, the Federal Information Secretariat said in a statement.

The raising of the two countries' diplomatic relations to a higher level comes as a result of Yugoslavia's peaceful policy over the past period and is a stimulus for intensifying cooperation in all areas, it was heard at the meeting.

After the imposition of international sanctions on the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro in May 1992, most countries withdrew their ambassadors from Belgrade, leaving charges d'affaires as the highest diplomatic representatives. As the sanctions were suspended in February 1996, France was the first to send its ambassador back to Belgrade. Other European Union members are now announcing similar steps.

After the U.N. sanctions were imposed on Yugoslavia, its membership to various international organizations was frozen.

FRY: Pristina Meeting Assesses Yugoslav Army Positively

LD2103233996 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2210 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, March 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Army has managed to preserve, in a complex military-political and economic situation, the indispensable level of combat readiness and perform successfully its duties, it was assessed Thursday [21 March] at a meeting of the Yugoslav Army general staff organized in Pristina, capital city of the Serbian province of Kosovo and Metohija.

The combat readiness of the Yugoslav Army in 1995 was analyzed at a regular annual meeting, held at the Pristina corps command, the press service of the Yugoslav Army general staff said.

The meeting was chaired by the Yugoslav Army chief of general staff, Lieutenant-General Momcilo Perisic. The meeting was attended by the deputies of the chief of general staff, commanders of ground, air and navy forces, of the center of military schools and of the special units corps.

A part of the meeting was also attended by the Yugoslav minister for internal affairs, Vukasin Jokanovic.

Serbia

Serbia: Milosevic Meeting With FYROM's Gligorov Delayed

AU2103133996 Bad Vilbel VESTI in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 96 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The Meeting Between Milosevic and Gligorov Has Been Postponed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The meeting between the presidents of Macedonia [FYROM—the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] and Serbia, Kiro Gligorov and Slobodan Milosevic respectively, which was announced in the press for the middle of this week, has been postponed at at Serbian side's request, Gligorov's office has announced and added that it is possible that it will be held next week.

The Macedonian and Serbian sides have not officially confirmed the meeting that the press announced, quoting diplomatic sources.

Almost all media in Skopje have carried the statement by the Yugoslav Trade Minister Djordje Siradovic at a news conference in Belgrade that Milosevic and Gligorov will meet in Skopje this week.

Serbia: Information Official Receives Iraqi Envoy

LD2103162896 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1519 GMT 21 Mar 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 21 Mar (TANJUG)—Rade Drobac, assistant minister of information in the government of the Republic of Serbia, today received Taha Hammadi Mohammad, charge d'affairs of the Iraqi Embassy in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

As a statement by the Ministry of Information says, there was an exchange of views on the current political situation in the world and the territory of the former Yugoslavia in the course of lengthy and friendly talks. Possibilities for the development of bilateral cooperation in the sphere of information were also discussed.

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Serbia: Adopted Republic, Federal Budget Criticized

96BA0154B Belgrade SRPSKA REC in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 96 pp 30-31

[Article by Aleksandar Cvetkovic: "Once Again About the Budget: All for the Police, the Police Against the Majority"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In the last issue of SRPSKA REC we turned to the just "adopted" republic budget, calling it numerical confusion and malicious improvisation. This issue proves the same thing, a little deeper, very deep, to the disdain of the budget of the constitution itself.*

Regardless of the fact that a month has passed since the budget was adopted (by a majority) and the matter can be considered closed, reviewing its deficiencies is no less current. The already typical tricks of the Socialists do not help much here, like the one when it was announced that budget expenses are dropping by one-third in the first quarter (with this timid admission that there was an exaggeration goes the fact that this "restraint" will be compensated for during the year).

The critical edge has mostly been directed, understandably, toward the opportunities of citizens to bank their state supplements, and especially toward the largest public spenders.

What has occupied a special place in the negative reviews of experts are the disproportionate allocations from the budget for the needs of the federal and republic (Serbian) ministries of international affairs. The fact is that the federal "police" budget is 85 times less than the Serbian one. Expressed in numbers, the federal budget for the uses cited is 24.2 million dinars and the republic budget, 2.058 billion dinars.

One For All

Especially demonstrated concern is evident, both under the constitution and in terms of the technology of work of republic organs, in that, from that part of the budget earmarked for salaries and material and operative costs of state organs and organizations, 58.52 percent is allocated for the needs of the republic Ministry of Internal Affairs. Therefore, 1.648 billion dinars of 2.817 billion dinars represents 58.52 percent of the concern of the government of Serbia and its president for the personal prosperity of workers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Although there are approximately another 20 ministries on the list of users, and all judicial organs (area, district, and economic courts, prosecutors' offices, and higher justices for violations, establishments for carrying out criminal sanctions), as well as seven to eight institutions (for statistics, development, hydrometeorology, the geodetic bureau), the Directorate for Commodity Reserves, and the Commissariat for Refugees, the material needs of the police are greater in the opinion of the government than those of all the rest together. Therefore, the main and primary consumer of the republic budget is the MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs].

That this assumption is correct is confirmed by the relation to active military personnel and civilian personnel in service in the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia], for whose salaries seven times less is allocated than for planned payments for salaries to members of the republic MUP.

What constitutes great difficulty is dividing money from the still "unearned" republic treasury. And how do they plan to supplement it? As a start, excise amounts have been doubled, and since this is located "under the line," the tax base and taxes are appreciably rising although they have stayed the same in terms of percentages. Other unpleasant surprises (like the introduction of special taxes in all phases of construction, as a sphere with the most difficult operating conditions) are just now facing citizens.

Airplane Regulations

Still more interesting is the breakdown of special expenses, where, among other things, a planned expenditure of 800,000 dinars is cited for work on changing the constitution and carrying out a referendum in Serbia. All this was done outside the constitution and legal authority. According to the constitution in effect, this process must be initiated by special procedure. Or, as this is regulated in Article 132 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia: "A proposal for changing the Constitution must be submitted by at least 100,000 voters, at least 50 national deputies, the president of the republic, and the government..." The fact is (black on white) that this article is in the Law on the Budget, but up to now it is not known that the National Assembly has received any such proposal from one of the proposers listed. And right in the next article of the Republic Constitution it says that "the National Assembly, with a two-thirds majority of the total number of national deputies, decides on a proposal for changing the constitution." With this, it is completely incomprehensible that it is announced through the budget that one of the rulers is planning changes in the constitution, before the Assembly (and the broader public in Serbia) has been informed about it. But this already falls among the curiosities of our parliamentarism—didn't President Milosevic, right at the moment when he was over the Atlantic, sign laws that were adopted that day (without

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the presence of the opposition) in the republic Assembly?!

Therefore, there are forces in the Republic of Serbia in the Ministry of Finance itself that are illegally planning tasks for something that has not been initiated in accordance with the constitution at all. This, however, indicates the real intentions of the proposers—the president of the republic will soon receive another mandate, and it is now time for the intervention to be returned to the federation, for the pyramid of power to be again turned according to the measure of influence of a specific personality—Slobodan Milosevic. (According to such a sequence of actions, it can also be expected that budgets will suddenly change positions, and the police will be placed under the authority of the federal government).

If we review the financing of political organizations, that is to say, political parties, 1.113 million dinars were allocated. Comparing this with total allocations for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, we get a clear relationship to the multiparty system and how much political parties are worth in Serbia as support for carrying out the constitution and respecting democracy. Through a simple calculation, dividing the higher sum by the number of delegates (whereby each represents one elective unit), one obtains the amount of 371 dinars of monthly budget financing for the work of the chosen men of the people in the "base." In this way one could make a graphic comparison that political parties are really only on a "hot meal" in the Assembly of Serbia.

What Is Known Is Respected

It is clear why the MUP is worth 1,850 times more than elected politicians—internal security in abnormal times is an especially sensitive area, although on the basis of prior experience, one could say that the "financier" is interested primarily in that component that concerns preserving the inaugurated strength of the ruling party. In case of any kind of internal disruption, Slobodan Milosevic becomes the chief of the Army (regardless of the fact that ships formally remain in the waterways of another federal unit). This is particularly indicated by a newly established hierarchy of ranks in the police, analogous to Army ones.

In the next crude violation of constitutional provisions falls the resolution that three educational institutions remain under the authority of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. One reaches such a conclusion through an analysis of points in the budget for police needs, and the same document cites allocations of a total of 80,380,000 dinars for financing the Police Academy in Belgrade, the Higher Criminological School in Zemun, and the Secondary School for Internal Affairs in Sremska Kamenica. The best indicator of the favoring of the police profession is already seen in the treatment of the training of cadre of that cross section. Thus, in total expenditures for training, the Police Academy claims a share of 6.01 percent (or 34,592,000 dinars) of funds for all universities and faculties in Serbia (of which there are 86), the Higher Criminological School 15.25 percent (12,860,000 dinars) earmarked for all higher schools (of which there are 53), and the secondary school 5.02 percent (or 32,928,000 dinars) of that part belonging to secondary schools (there are 522 in the republic). And in this regard the constitution is explicit: According to Article 94 "the ministries carry out affairs of state administration..." By what interpretation of the constitution would the educational function, which is given to the Ministry of Education, be transferred to the MUP? We remember only how many years the Bogoslovski faculty has invested (and is still investing) efforts to be returned to the wing of Belgrade University, and the Police Academy does not even want that?!

And in what shape is an economy that would have to withstand the described budget burden? Adding up the federal, republic, and city and district budgets, one obtains the result of about 27 billion dinars for the current year 1996.

If it is taken into account that we have about 1.6 million active workers in the economy (those that statistics "record" as actually working and producing something), then the question arises how much does that worker set aside for himself and how much for the police? (And no exact figure exists for the number of police; one is reached indirectly, through the number of police officers and a factor for calculating their salaries). The budget has included 120 million dinars for providing the lowest, guaranteed earnings—which enterprises are not in a position to pay. Thus it appears absurd that "working men" allocate 12 times more for police salaries, so one could conclude that they care more about others than themselves.

(Some economists estimate that expenses for police in the current year will reach a whole billion marks, but that this will remain hidden in the budget, as is the case with fines paid for violations—which will be directly earmarked for housing construction for the needs of ministry employees.)

On the other hand, with 120 million dinars, dividing it in monthly "rations" of a miserly 200 dinars indicates that, over the course of this year, it will be possible to provide for only 50,000 workers who remain without work. We know that there is a much higher number of them at the moment, but how will the situation develop

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further? Is a drastic rise in the level of unemployment expected?

Cheers!

Creators of the budget foresee a rise (as in: The sanctions have been lifted and the economy will now simply jump from its spot) in the social product of a whole 19.7 percent in relation to 1995 and an increase in retail prices of 32.4 percent. Not clear to anyone, even among economists, is: What is the source of such optimism if prices of basic grocery staples are only in a transition from last year to this year and government costs have increased 100 percent or more (so-called elimination of disparities)?

If contributions for health and the payment of pensions, as well as wages of actively employed persons, are also added to the budget, the sum of revenues realized in the economy would have to reach 52 billion dinars. By comparison, in 1995 a social product of 38 billion dinars was realized. Perhaps it will reach an expected 60 billion dinars in 1996, but how much will one German mark be worth on the free market on 31 December 1996? That is probably the best and most favorable parameter of economic success in countries like ours.

Therefore, there remains, as a commentary, only one anthological one: "Cheers!"—and it is wished to all those who, under sanctions and socialist economic policy, have attained immunity to them.

Serbia: JUL Member on Mira Markovic, Elections

96BA0154A Belgrade SRPSKA REC in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 96 pp 44-45

[Interview With Jovan Ristic, a member of the Yugoslav United Left, by Duska Maksimovic-Vlajcic; place and date not given: "We Are Winning"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"In the JUL [Yugoslav United Left] there are no rules of address. We address each other as it suits us. If someone wants to be addressed as 'Comrade' or 'Mister,' I don't see why it is necessary to spite him. The expression 'Comrade' as a form of address has completely lost its political characteristic; it's no longer either cult or customary. I address people whom I don't know with 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.' They are not offended and this is not considered against party discipline," says the author of over 3,000 stage shows and over 2,500 theater productions, assistant general director of the RTS (Radio-Television Serbia) for programming, and a member of the direction of JUL.*

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] How do you address the president of your party, Mira Markovic?

[Ristic] Mrs.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Do you use the familiar or the polite form of "you"?

[Ristic] We still use the polite form.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Still?

[Ristic] Not for a moment have we been either so close or so well acquainted that we would use the familiar form. Addressing people, and whether one uses the familiar or the polite form of "you," does not exist as a set of rules in the party. We address each other in the way to which we're accustomed. With some people with whom I have worked for the past 30 years, I use the polite form out of respect. It's this way in the JUL, too. How people feel and how close they are, that's how they address each other. I will never use the polite form with Desak Stanojevic because we are friends.

But, I'm not friendly with Mira Markovic; I have contact with her at our political assemblies and party meetings. Basic order, propriety, and respect cause me to address her with the polite form. Just as I can't use the familiar form today even with Slobodan Milosevic.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] But once you used the familiar form?

[Ristic] We did once. Nevertheless, he is the president of this country. And I can't act like an upstart now and prove that we knew each other as students and that we addressed each other with the familiar form. There's something that's orderly and something that's not. Sometimes you have to have respect for the symbols of statehood.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] What are you in the JUL?

[Ristic] I am a member of the executive committee of the Yugoslav Red Cross and I work a lot in all its activities. I'm not a great populizer of organizations in which I work, because I'm not able to explain why, but I think that every man must respond to the human call for help. Therefore, I'm in the Red Cross. To the social call—that's why I'm in the JUL. I think that people, if they can and have the strength, must be involved. Uninvolved people are egocentric. Without the JUL, the Red Cross, and the amateurism, where I always go and help, I would probably have more time for my stamp collection, my house, but intimately I would not be satisfied. We are a society that cries out for help. I don't have money that I would share it, but I can fight for people to be satisfied. Individual happiness is doubtful and short-lived. Happiness can only be collective. If your orientation is sincere, it's all the same whether you're oriented toward the JUL, the radicals, or the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement]. We are not clones and

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we can't all have the same opinion. Even upbringing is not a precondition, in our case, for political orientation.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] You are proving with your example. Your father was an officer in the old Yugoslav Army.

[Ristic] Based on upbringing, I wouldn't have to be either a communist or a left-winger.

I would have to be an obsessed rightist, but, probably, it would depend on the concurrence of events. I haven't even tried to analyze why I oriented myself as a leftist at the age of 17. Simply put, I sincerely believe it's best that way.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] How many members does the JUL have?

[Ristic] We don't have exact documentation. The JUL is now in a phase of promoting its organizations and is still working on its organizational consolidation.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] How would you comment, within the framework of the party, on the fact that you can't even peep into some typical SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] districts?

[Ristic] Every healthy and reasonable SPS member, in the depth of his soul, must know that as much as we are similar on one side, the left, we must feel the opposition that much in the JUL. Therefore, the question is whether their behavior is politically tolerant or there is maniacal fear.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Do you think that Serbia is afraid of the JUL?

[Ristic] How so. I assume that people are afraid who are imbued with the idea that communists are some disheveled persons who jump out of a box and frighten people, who are still at some primitive level of collectivization. Therefore, people are afraid of it who regard JUL members as old Communards who will destroy religion, Serbianism... The modern left wing no longer denies, nationally, religion, does not place any conditions on religious orientation, is ready for political dialogue, is not exclusive. Such a modern leftist would not have to frighten people, but it is certain that assumptions about such a leftist cannot extend to every one overnight.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] I assume that the JUL will go to the coming elections. What are your expectations? Are you hoping for entrance into parliament?

[Ristic] I am a great optimist. I assume we will win the elections.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] On the basis of what?

[Ristic] When someone undertakes something but considers in advance that the thing is lost, then he shouldn't have undertaken it. I have undertaken all this, and, among other things, the JUL, because I believe that we can win and, with victory, put our ideas into action, to carry out the social program, which is huge.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] And if you lose?

[Ristic] Nothing is lost, it is moved to a future period.

The Role of Marriage

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] What bothers you about the SPS?

[Ristic] I believe it is an insufficiently left party. I have been a leftist my whole life; I was a member of the KP [Communist Party], or SKJ [League of Communists of Yugoslavia], for over 30 years. In contrast to many people who state this today, I don't consider that I was misled. I have not changed my opinion about what social right man should orient himself toward. Many of my former party leaders who at one time proclaimed me pro-western in orientation, after the style of a tumbler pigeon, now call me Bolshevik and extreme red, and I haven't changed one iota.

I don't expect any personal benefit from my involvement in the JUL. I am not a rich man, but I have quite enough to live well. The modern left wing must become a real and stable opposition in countries that are now in fermentation. Because only a modern and sincere left wing, and the JUL is that at this time, can fight for the social rights of some threatened people. You can consider this propaganda, but the JUL is fighting for us to live better and more culturally.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] No party exists, it seems to me, that does not support a better and more cultural life.

[Ristic] I think the left wing will have the right way to fight for this.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Which?

[Ristic] For example, the story on the privatization of social property is a great war for social justice. No one denies at this moment that privatization should take place. That which started all of a sudden, for privatization to take place all of a sudden, and that for a short time, changed into general looting, with the theft of goods that are general. The left wing advocates that this process be practically stopped until the real principles of privatization are set up.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Somehow it seems to me, regardless of what the left wing says, that people don't believe you. What is the problem?

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[Ristic] We do not yet have enough possibilities to change things, because we are not a parliamentary party, so we still can't prove our ideas. But, the mistrust is increasingly less in substance. If you remember what the relation was toward "Communards" two years ago and toward the left wing today, then you will see that it is far more tolerant today. Where two or three years ago a left wing appeared that had the ballast of communism behind it, that was not consistent, it would provoke only bitter reactions. Today, when the left wing is calmly coming forward and presenting its views, when it is ready for a dialogue and for parliamentary actions, I think it is becoming one of the strengths necessary to this society.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] What about resistance to the leader of the left wing, Mira Markovic? She is being criticized increasingly bitterly for taking advantage of the power of her husband, for pulling the political horses of this country?

[Ristic] What you said is not exactly an accurate statement. To the extent that resistance exists, there is also sympathy, some against, some for. However, the problem of married couples that is found in politics in modern political life can no longer be a burden. Let's take the stories of Vuk and Danica Draskovic.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Vuk is not in power, and they are in the same party.

[Ristic] Correct, but there have been stories about who pulls the horses and who carries things out. Stories, therefore, without an end. One must be careful with stories, one must check them, but they shouldn't be taken as an argument. The JUL is not a party that is the opposite of the SPS, nor is it the same, but it is certainly closer to the SPS than some party that is a little more right. If the JUL were in parliament at this moment, it would be in opposition to the SPS, in my opinion. Especially in social problematics. For example, I no longer consider President Slobodan Milosevic an SPS person. When the actions of President Milosevic are viewed, I think it can be said that he has had the correct approach to political parties and he is not exclusively a member of SPS. Especially since he has been president in one of the blackest periods in Serbian history and he had to be, above all, the president of Serbia, and least of all president of his party. Perhaps that party even suffered more because of this than other parties. And I don't see why there would be a problem if a related, but nevertheless different opinion stemmed from two people who are married.

Minister of Police Even Now

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Do you think, therefore, that Mira Markovic is not taking advantage of the fact that her husband is president of the country in order to promote herself more strongly, to come across more easily...

[Ristic] In politics there are different ways of fighting, but I think that Mira Markovic at least uses her husband for the realization of her ideas. She is using her acquaintance with other people and her followers and adherents more than the president.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Is it correct that both Marija and Marko Milosevic have become members of the JUL?

[Ristic] As far as I know, Marko is not even in a party, and Marija, I think, is in the SPS.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] A new Administrative Council of the RTS, of which you are a member, has finally been appointed. It is being criticized for political inadequacy and specialized incompetence. What do you think?

[Ristic] I want to say immediately that I was elected as an employees' representative at the RTS. The Administrative Council is not a formal body at all but the master and host of a house. And as far as the uproar about the Administrative Council is concerned, I assume it is in the Assembly, like everything that is complicated, and making such a decision complicated. It is certain that different political interests are clashing there, and with such a decision political parties test their strengths and relations. The structure of this council also shows the relation of political forces at a given moment. The question of why the minister of police was chosen as a representative of the Administrative Council came to us on television as an echo. But the fact is that Mr. Vukasin Jokanovic was president of the previous Administrative Council. As far as competence is concerned, in the sense of proximity to television work, this Administrative Council is more competent than the previous one.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] The public is counting on a new storm in television, because the entry of former director Cedomir Mirkovic into the Administrative Council is tied to the departure of the current one, Dragoljub Milanovic.

[Ristic] Those manipulations are more present outside than in television. It was more important to us that we get an administrative council. Because many decisions could not be made, and the institution lived in a state of temporariness.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] You once said that, for the leadership of the RTS at that time, programming stopped after the second "Dnevnik" [Daily News]. When, in your view, does TV programming stop now?

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[Ristic] As far as I am concerned, there is no end now because we will soon begin 24-hour broadcasting of our own programming on Channel 3. As to the teams that take care of the other programming activities, I feel the same way. Because, in the final analysis, all programming is a political question.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Nevertheless, political broadcasting is somehow regarded as the highest. You are not responsible for it, but how do you view it?

[Ristic] You are seeking a difficult thing from me. The question nevertheless concerns my institution. I wouldn't want to be completely uncritical and say that the informational programming is brilliant, but I believe very sincerely that the current team is professionally interested in producing good political programming. I think that the political broadcasts of this team are less colored as to parties, but there are no completely uncolored informational broadcasts. Not in our country, not in the world.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] What about the people, and there were over a thousand of them, who were dismissed from the RTS?

[Ristic] Some were returned and there are now about 260 of them on compulsory leave. I have called to work Dunja Figenvald, Dragan Babic, Prvoslav Maric, I won't cite names now, and asked them if they want to work. They agreed. I don't know if they will all be returned, but I am for resolving the problem with each one civilly, so that people are not offended.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Were you offended with your departure from the BK [expansion unknown] of television?

[Ristic] No, I parted with them quietly and nicely.

[Maksimovic-Vlajcic] Are you including Aleksander Tijanic here?

[Ristic] Yes. We didn't agree, but that doesn't mean that we parted enemies.

Kosovo

Kosovo: FRY Minister Says Kosovo Is Serbia's Affair

LD2103231896 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2250 GMT 21 Mar 96

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pristina, March 21 (TANJUG)—All major international factors have reaffirmed that Kosovo and Metohija (Kosmet) is an integral part of Serbia and that the settlement of problems in this province is Serbia's internal affair, Yugoslav Interior Minister Vukasin Jokanovic stated here on Thursday [21 March].

In a talk with Deputy Head of the Kosovo District Milos Nesovic and Pristina Mayor Novica Sojevic, Jokanovic added that the Dayton Agreement was exceptionally significant also for the Kosmet people, because a favourable climate, greater security and more prospects were created.

The talk was said to have pointed to the necessity of ethnic Albanians in Kosmet returning to the peaceful living together to the benefit of all citizens.

Security situation was assessed as stable in the area of the Kosmet capital Pristina.

In Kosmet, ethnic Albanians enjoy all internationally warranted rights, from education and information in their own language to participation in political life, but some of the Albanians, influenced by their separatist leaders, do not want to exercise these rights.

A strong separatist movement of ethnic Albanians in Kosmet has long aspired to merge the province with Albania.

The Serbian authorities have more than once offered dialogues to ethnic Albanian leaders about all problems except for Kosmet's secession, but the leaders kept turning the offer down.

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